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"Crooked" Language: Moroccan Heritage Identity and Belonging on YouTube

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Abstract

With the advent of user-generated social media, people are able to assert their ideas, opinions and positionality through online multi-way communication and participation. One such website is Youtube, a video platform where language production and identity negotiation are common. This thesis looks at a series of videos published on Youtube, entitled the “Moroccan Tag,” to examine the ways 5 second-generation French-Moroccan Youtubers assert their national identities online. Using methods of guerrilla ethnography, I glean discourse from video content and comments to outline three key scaler processes through which identity performance manifests: through semiotic ideologies surrounding authenticity, language and imagined community. Together, my observations add to continuing conversations on diasporic identity, translanguaging and digital discourse.

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In the summer of 2017, I was granted the Ford Fund by the Oberlin department of Anthropology to attend the Linguistic Institute of America. There, I met and took classes from incredible scholars such as Penny Eckert (an Oberlin allum!), Norma Mendoza-Denton, Keith Walters and Elaine Chun whose work certainly informs the way I now conceive of linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics. Professor Walters introduced me to work on heritage speakers and sent me materials to more formally learn Moroccan Arabic, encouraging me to pursue research in the sociolinguistics of the Arab world while also encouraging my language learning as a second-generation Moroccan-American; I would like to thank him for his interest in both my scholarly and personal pursuits. Elaine Chun was the professor to "Language and Race," a course that influenced the eventual formation of this thesis and inspired me to see Youtube as a site for ethnography. I would like to thank her for her work and for her kindness in agreeing to be my discussant. I am also grateful to the Oberlin department of Anthropology, for granting me the Ford Fund, but also for guiding and supporting my love of anthropology.

Lastly, I would like to thank my Moroccan family and friends, and especially my mother, who is patient with me as I figure out my own personal sense of language, identity and belonging.

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1. Introduction

> Two young women, one with long brown hair, the other wearing a pale brown hijab, sit posed in front of a camera. They smile and say in unison, "*Yo, what's up les sisters, I hope you're well because we are! Today we are excited to present you with a new video… The Moroccan Tag!"* From behind the couch they are leaning against, one woman enthusiastically pulls out a Moroccan flag, waving it in front of her as the other claps her hands to a song by popular Moroccan singer Mahir Zain that unexpectedly starts playing in the background. They laugh as the flag falls to cover the camera lens and the video cuts to a new clip.

With the advent of user-generated social media, users are able to assert their ideas, opinions and positionality through various internet platforms. This has created a new dimension to the internet, or what has been coined the "Web 2.0" i.e. a version of the internet marked by multi-way communication and participation (DiNucci 1999, O'Reilly 2005). This differs from internet usage of the past, as it is no longer compulsory to have a vast knowledge of computer programming to contribute content to the World Wide Web. Social platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and Youtube, i.e. "participatory media," allow users to upload content of their choosing through the simple click of a button. With a camera, an idea, and access to the internet, anyone can upload a video and take their shot at becoming the next self-made Youtube celebrity or Instagram model, or can simply use the internet to stay in touch with distant family and friends. Because participatory, user-generated social media has become so commonplace, and because online social networks often exist separate from institutional surveillance or editing (at least to a certain degree), they can be seen as useful sites of linguistic production and innovation (Androutsopoulos 2009, Coulmas 2013, Duane 2017). This is not to say that linguistic or cultural production on social media exist in a vacuum, or seperate from factors that may influence speech (such as an audience or ethnographer). Rather, as an ethnographic site, social media is uninfluenced by the looming eyes of the

ethnographer, and can thus effectively index social ideology[1] (Modan 2016, Hine 2001). Cyberspace is a rich site of human interaction, identity negotiation and language production and is thus a rich site for ethnographic observation and interaction.

Anthropology as a discipline is invested in the ways individuals conceive of their personal identities, as well as the ways those identities translate between communities. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) explains that community is defined by social engagement. As people collaborate amongst themselves and build community, they construct their own identities and those of others in relation to themselves. Importantly, within different social spheres and situations, certain aspects of identity become more salient than others. Linguistic anthropology as a subdiscipline is particularly useful for analyzing identity construction amongst various communities-- language becomes both an overt and covert marker of identity. The ways people metapragmatically conceive of their language and the language of others, the way language is actually used, and the ways stance is asserted are all important parts of social engagement. Social media is a platform that may facilitate these acts of social engagement and validate stance. Here, I refer to stance as outlined by Jaffe (2009:3), as: "taking up a position with respect to the form or the content of one's utterance." Stance is the way one asserts their place in relation to the world around them, building opinions and evaluating those of others. When interlocutors share a stance, they are positioned to "align" with one another or not. Users of social media are constantly positioning themselves in relation to their utterances and those of others, using their assertions to index their online social identities while simultaneously building the online social identities of others within their communities.

In this study, I am interested in the ways Web 2.0 is constructed as a cultural space and how interlocutors negotiate identity through user-generated content. Specifically, I explore the way young

[1] Face-to-face ethnography, too, has many benefits-- ethnographers work intentionally to build relationships and access the social ideologies of those they study. Both methods are useful, albeit different.

people's self-appointed roles as Youtubers[2] allow them to express their cultural identity in a series of videos titled "The Moroccan Tag." This video series is a specific subsection of an ongoing "Ethnicity Tag" that began on Youtube in approximately 2015, trended (i.e. peaked in content uploaded) around January 2017, and continues into 2018. "Tag" videos are popular on Youtube, and consist of a Youtuber posting a video answering a series of questions about themselves, which is then reproduced by other Youtube users (both video posters and commenters) with variation. Examples of "tag" videos include "The Vegan Tag," in which Youtubers answer questions and recount their experiences with veganism, "The Boyfriend Tag" in which Youtubers create a video with their significant other to answer questions, and "The Ethnicity Tag" in which Youtubers respond to a series of questions about their ethnic background. Here, I have chosen to focus on a derivative of "The Ethnicity Tag" to better hone in on the ways social affinity and ideology can be scaled to a particular level. Scaling relies deeply on comparison amongst events, persons, and activities and is a relational practice that informs ideology (Gal 2016: 91); by choosing a particular "tag" video, I am better able to analyze the ways social scales are erected. This video format is highly exemplary of Web 2.0's multi-participant quality, since the back-and-forth nature of "tag" videos requires interlocutor participation. Users reproduce each other's original content by answering the same general set of questions, indexing another phenomenon within Web 2.0: social (re)production[3]. (Re)production and imitation of video style and tone showcases users' indirect alignment with one another, further strengthening a created virtual community (Walton and Jaffe 2011). I have chosen to center my focus on videos created by young French-Moroccans specifically to add to conversations (e.g., Wolf 1997, Qureshi & Moores 1999, Warriner 2007, Sabry 2016, Love 2016) about the ways youth assert their ethnic identity transnationally.

As a case study, young Moroccans in diaspora are ideal for a number of reasons. First, the linguistic diversity of Morocco is paired with an interesting potpourri of language ideologies. While the

[2] "Youtubers" are those who create videos on Youtube: www.youtube.com.
[3] Addressed in section 4.3.

official language of the country is Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Morocco's history of colonial legacy (Morocco was a protectorate of the French from 1912-1956) has left both French and Spanish behind in its tracks. Today, most government and official business is carried out in French, and many children attend French schools, pursuing the same track as children in France, ending their education with the *bacaloreal* and often attending university in Europe. Because Spain controlled the North of Morocco during the French protectorate, many Moroccans speak Spanish as well. *Darija,* literally translated as "the dialect," is the Arabic of the people, and is heavily influenced through lone words, borrowings and grammar by both French and Spanish, as well as *Tamazight,* an umbrella term for the indigenous languages of the country. However, even use of Darija (also known as "Moroccan Arabic") is not straightforward. Mendoza-Denton and Osborn (2013) lay out the linguistic ecology of Arabic in Morocco, explaining:

> "One can speak i) urban Moroccan Arabic varieties (ii) rural Moroccan Arabic varieties, (iii) Hassaniya Arabic, a regional variety spoken in the south, (iv) Judaeo-Arabic of the remaining Moroccan Jewish population (v) standardized Modern Standard Arabic (Fusha), taught in schools along with French and (vi) Classical, Quranic Arabic." (116)

Historical power relating to colonialism as well as indigenous language policies[4] manifests in hierarchical language ideologies, giving validity to some language groups and not others-- as Irvine and Gal put it, "the significance of linguistic differentiation is embedded in the politics of a region and its observers" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 35). Ultimately, as is true in most multilingual settings, languages are privileged based on the power of the institutions backing them. In the case of Morocco, both French and Modern Standard Arabic are highly privileged, while Moroccan Arabic, Darija, is often thought of as an

[4] After the French protectorate, through King Hassan the II's "arabization" initiative in 1956, government officials sought to build and uphold national identity by banning non-Arabic language from schools and business, in an overall effort of decolonization. However, this movement ultimately minimized the use of Tamazight, an umbrella term for the indigenous languages of the region, rather than the French language. Today, indigenous language policies include Tamazight as a national language, and since 2003, Tamazight has been taught in certain public schools through an initiative by the Moroccan ministry of education. However, it is still conceived of as a non-prestigious language.

incomplete or vernacular language. The ways people of Morocco choose to perform their identity is heavily influenced by their linguistic background, particularly as it has been shaped by French colonialism, post-colonialism and Moroccan nationalism. This is true of migrants and second generation immigrants as well. Ideologies about language prestige and hierarchy are apparent in the discourse of the Youtubers being studied, and are further complicated by themes of authenticity, territorialization and belonging.

Additionally, the migratory history of Morocco is one of great richness and breadth. Not only do Moroccans make up one of the largest migrant groups in France, but they also make up a highly diverse group of migratory actors, "from settled children and grandchildren of migrants where questions of identity and social involvement persist, to nomadic merchants trading their way through various Mediterranean countries; from long-settled labour immigrants to newly arrived students and professionals" (Collyer et al 2009: 1559). Participatory media generated by second-generation Moroccan migrants has implications for migration studies and the role of digital discourse in assertion of identity, linguistic and otherwise.

In analyzing the "Moroccan Tag," I focus primarily on five videos uploaded by Moroccan-French second-generation migrants living in France. I am interested in the way cultural affinity manifests transnationally, and the role Youtube media discourse plays in allowing young people of Moroccan heritage who live away from their country of origin to express and assert their national identities. Sabry (2016) outlines the ways internet media consumption could influence young Moroccans to impart on a "mental emigration," that is, the ways the influence of Western texts and media may influence non-Western Moroccan youth to emigrate west. Similarly, it is possible that diasporic Moroccan youth who create media regarding their ethnic identity are imparting on a symbolic "mental repatriation," that is, a virtual return home or an act of claiming cultural citizenship to a country while still living and being raised abroad. The habitus (i.e. the embodied experience and tendencies) (Bourdieu 1986) of a user

impacts how they engage with social media, but also how social media engages with them, influencing their perception of self and community, and the mode of their "mental repatriation." Through Youtube, Moroccan youth in diaspora have the ability to project their thoughts and feelings across geographic boundaries, asserting belonging through language and discourse, but also through the imagined communities that form as a result of participatory online media.

In this thesis, I will be looking at three scaler processes through which identity performance manifests: through semiotic ideologies surrounding language, authenticity and imagined community. I approach digital texts a pieces of discourse in their own right, which adds to current discussions in multiple fields of research; for example: the sociolinguistics of globalization (e.g. Benmamoun 2013, Rothman and Treffers-Daller 2014), digital discourse studies (e.g. Hine 2001, Puri 2007, Wesch 2009) and translanguagism (e.g. Li Wei 2011, Li and Zhu 2013, Garcia 2007). As a whole, my research presents the participatory media space of Youtube as a site for the assertion, negotiation, and contestation of identity.

2. Background

In order to contextualize the following study, it is necessary to discuss previous work that explores the social identities of youth in diaspora and the influence of media in the formation of identity. It is also necessary to explain the utility of anthropological methods within migration and media studies. Sabry (2016), who studies the influence of social media on emigration, states that the convergence of migration studies with other fields such as media & culture studies and anthropology is still in its infancy. Considering these intersections can provide us with a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of migration, and the construction of belonging amongst transnational youth.

Ong (1999: 4) defines *transnationality* as "the condition of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across space" and *transnationalism* as "the cultural specificities of global processes, tracing the multiplicity of uses and conceptions of "culture." Transnationality exists when boundaries of time, space

and geography become altered in such a way that one can exist between or simultaneously within national identities. However, to say that these boundaries disappear on the web is unrealistic and irresponsible; in fact, the internet may make boundaries more apparent, for only those with similar cultural capital (i.e. the social assets of a person that allows for social mobility, such as education, taste and language) have access to, and use, cultural tools (i.e. the internet) in similar ways (Bourdieu 1986). We might instead say that those with the same cultural capital are able to break territorial boundaries through use of social media, and thus exist transnationally through the creation of user-generated content, such as Youtube videos, as well as through participatory content, such as comments or video reproduction. I make this distinction to assert that findings pertaining to Moroccan youth on Youtube should not be generalized to all Moroccan youth, or all transnational youth. However, the growing accessibility of participatory media makes it so that barriers (e.g. money, time, expertise) to cultural capital become easier to overcome, and nearly everyone has the ability to create internet content. Hine (2001: 30) makes clear: "In thinking of the internet, we should not necessarily expect it to mean the same thing to everyone. It could be said that ideas about what the Internet is are socially shaped in that they arise in contexts of use in which different ways of viewing the technology are meaningful and acceptable." Using the "Moroccan Tag" to study the experience of belonging by French-Moroccan youth may reveal links to the experiences of other migrant youth, but still exists within a certain context of internet use. This experience of belonging may also be different outside of the "Moroccan Tag," or outside the internet more generally.

Participation in user-generated social media amongst youth in diaspora is an act of transnationalism. When youth refer to their transnational identity through social media (i.e. a transnational platform), their content becomes meta-discourse, revealing explicit as well as implicit truths about what it means to exist transnationally. Smith (2003: 468) asserts that anthropology and the approach of cultural studies can help us understand "how everyday practices of ordinary people produce cultural meanings that sustain transnational networks and make possible enduring translocal ties." These ordinary practices span

from the act of posting a video to the spoken discourse within the video, from the underlying ideologies surrounding the user-generated discourse to the social (re)production and collaboration that follows.

One important, ordinary element of transnational web use is the frequent switch between languages. This may be extended by the notion of *translanguaging,* the multilingual practices by which de-/re-territorialized speakers "mobilize their linguistic resources to create new social spaces for themselves" (Li and Zhu 2013: 5). Li and Zhu (2013) explain that *translanguaging* as a term was initially coined by Cen Williams (1996) who used it to outline the ways language was used in bilingual classrooms, where acts of reading and listening are in one language, while acts of speaking and writing are in another. Garcia (2007) expands on this notion (calling the phenomenon *transglossia*) by asserting that, because stable multilingualism is a concept constructed through language ideologies, and because "first languages" (or "mother tongues") and "second languages" always exist within the context of their use, there is no such thing as Ferguson's (1967) diglossic speaker. Ferguson (1967) outlines diglossia to be a state of bilingualism where a "high" and "low" language exists; a "high" language holds more prestige and is used in education, literature, writing and oral communication, while a "low" language is used within less prestigious domains and in informal settings. For example, when considering the linguistic ecology of Morocco, Modern Standard Arabic and French are often considered "high" languages, while the Moroccan Dialect, Darija, is often considered a "low" language. This presents language as binary, when in fact its use is non-linear and highly complex. Mendoza-Denton and Osborne (2013: 114) support this, stating that "bilingualism is more than just two languages existing together, we must consider the political environment that contributes to what is seen as bilingualism." *Transglossia* considers the complexity of language and its multiplicity of use based on different social scales. This also complicates the notion of code-switching, a perceived phenomenon where a speaker moves smoothly between one language and another at specific moments delineated by themes in language. Transglossia

(or translanguaging) disrupts the linear, high/low perception of code switching, and is useful in more accurately describing how people move between languages and language forms.

In addition, translanguaging considers the switches between language as an act of using language "to gain knowledge, make sense of and to articulate one's thoughts about using language" (Li Wei and Zhu Hua 2013: 6), where language is not fixed and is instead an ongoing process (Li Wei 2011). Li Wei and Zhu Hua (2013) further expand on the prefix *trans* to describe the utility of the term *translanguaging.* First, translanguage is a trans-space; this conveys the ability to go between languages, but also beyond language. Second, it is transformative; it ties together different dimensions of a speaker's lived experience within their social world, creating a "new identity" for the speaker. Third, it is transdisciplinary; translanguaging practices are a window to broader human sociality. *Translanguaging* is one method through with users of participatory media assert transnational identity.

Although participatory online media makes especially apparent how layered acts of transnationalism can be, simply existing in diaspora is an act of transnationalism and has implications for the way national identity is asserted and formed. Here, I refer to national identity as the social and cultural aspects of being linked to one or multiple nation states rather than the territorial aspects. Badea et al (2015) refers to this as "communitarianism," i.e. having a strong allegiance to one's own ethnic group rather than the nation state as a whole. Ultimately, the ways immigrants evaluate their own ethnic ingroup determines whether or not they identify transnationally or within only one ethnic group (Ellemers 2001, Badea 2015). That is to say, when immigrants perceive assimilation to be legitimate over multiculturalism, they are less likely to identify with their nation of origin. When the converse is true, transnationalism becomes a significant marker of ingroup identity. Warriner (2007) studies the ways that literacy and language learning practices amongst immigrants plays a role in identity formation, and asserts that "movement over national borders often serves to solidify one's territorially defined identity" (4). This is because, once displaced, ethnic identity becomes a marker of "other," and is thus no longer the norm.

Cultural specificities that survive assimilation then become extremely important sites for interpreting and constructing national identity. In the US context, Warriner (2007:4) observes that political and religious refugees are "simultaneously territorialized and deterritorialized as they attempt to establish a new life in the US context." This is because refugees self-identifying with their nation-state of origin within their receiving nation-state are able to claim national identity and refugee rights only as a result of being former citizens of a nation-state. Outside of the refugee context, migrants territorialize themselves by creating displaced communities linked to their ethnic backgrounds, but are deterritorialized by those who conceive of them as "other."

In France, Moroccans in diaspora are a common "other." Sabry (2016) explains that migratoration history by Moroccan theorists reveals an important link between the French protectorate (that lasted from 1912-1956) and the migration of Moroccans to the West. Migration to the West, especially to France, was in great part the effect of Western imperialist intervention. This same pattern can be observed of other previously colonized countries, and certainly complicates transnational identity formation. Moroccan migration is in fact "amongst the most significant in the world" (Collyer 2009: 1555) as can be showcased not only through the immense amount of literature in countries where Moroccans make up a large migrant group (particularly France) (for example: Lacroix & Dumont 2015; Cegarra 1999; Belbah 2006) but also by the selection of Rabat as the site of the first Euro-African meeting in July 2006 on migration and development (Collyer 2009). Quantitative data by Belguendouz (2000) states that by 1993, there were on average 2,200,000 Moroccans living abroad, 80% of whom resided in Europe. Of the 1,800,000 Moroccan immigrants who had legal status, 860,000 lived in France. The first wave of Moroccan migrants to France happened around the First World War, when migrants from economically disadvantaged areas, such as the Sous and the Rif, emigrated by recruitment of the French to work in factories, agriculture and unskilled jobs (Belguendouz 2000, Collyer 2009, Sabry 2016). After independence, many first-generation migrant men brought over their wives and children to join them in

France. Collyer (2009: 5) emphasizes: "Moroccan society, like similar 'cultures of migration' cannot be fully comprehended without detailed attention to the diverse dynamics of migration… studying the links and exchanges migrants maintain with Morocco is a necessary step to understanding Moroccan society." Not only do the dynamics of Moroccan migration speak to the way Moroccan society functions as a whole, they also may add to conversations about other migrant communities in the West.

By studying French-Moroccan Youtubers as transnational actors whose linguistic and semiotic practices are defined by multiple social identities, I am able to analyze the complex processes by which users scale their identity in the context of historical and social experiences.

3. Guerilla Ethnography and Discourse Analysis

Ethnography provides detailed portraits of lived experiences and human practices. To analyze the online portraits of youth in diaspora is to take into consideration the ways that the everyday lives of people are shaped by transnationalism and migration, and to reveal the significance of commonplace online interactions and postings. Bakhtin (1981), reminds us that no utterance or instance of language exists separately from its sociolinguistic context, and as a result no speaker exists separately from their relational social identity in speech. Whether subconsciously or consciously, the speaker indexes their social identity through all acts of communication, virtual or otherwise. Ethnographic methodology serves to reveal that orthographic communicative acts (e.g. an online comment posting) or digital communicative acts (e.g. an online video posting), too do not exist separately from social and political context (Walton & Jaffe 2011, Hillewaert 2015, Choksi & Meek 2016). The process of translating the techniques and methods of ethnography to computer mediated communication (CMC) (Herring & Androupolous 2015) has been referred to in a number of ways, from "virtual ethnography" (Hine 2001) and "webnography" (Puri 2007) to "digital ethnography" (Wesch 2009) and "netnography" (Kozinets 2015). As opposed to being solely concerned with the ways participatory technologies influence social spheres, virtual ethnography (or "digital ethnography," "netnography," etc.) is also focused on the contextual factors of

web interactions, the underlying ideologies of interactions, and the dissonance between the private and public in determining how one presents their social identity.

In this study, I am concerned with multi-modal discourse centered online ethnography. In other words, I am not only interested in what a user says in one specific posting or video, but the interactions between user-generated content, the profiles attached to content producers, the comments affiliated with the Youtube videos being observed, and the ways "traces of attention" such as likes, views, and follower count influences the overall semiotic ecology of an online community. I term these non-linguistic statistics "traces of attention" because they contribute to the social network of online communities by validating content producers and serve as a means of showcasing surface-level stance, but do not interact with the more explicit parts of digital discourse. Traces of attention are phatic in nature, meaning that they complete a social function rather than convey deep meaning-- for example, the use of "How are you?" in English is often not to solicit information on one's well being, but instead functions as a greeting. Similarly, a "like" on a Youtube video often completes a social function of affirmation, but does not do much else.

This method of deep investigation has been referred to by Yang (2003) as "guerilla ethnography," a term which validates a researcher's ability to dig inward into and "get carried away with" (Androutsopoulos 2008: 7) research material. As opposed to searching through a single web page, blog, or video over the course of a few years to observe the way it changes through its users, guerilla ethnography is a method that encourages the researcher to create webs of information out of whatever online content is available, looking through external links, comments, profiles and related videos to create an analysis and interpretation of online interactions in a way that captures the unique strength of the internet: its ability for "openness, fluidity and connections" (Yang 2003 : 471). Guerilla ethnography as a methodology is part of a greater movement of language focused computer mediated studies that are informed by pragmatics, sociolinguistics and discourse studies (Androupolous 2006). This movement

serves to highlight the way specific language is used within online communities, as well as the linguistic diversity within these communities (for examples of studies that align with this approach, see McLelland 2002, McIntosh 2010, Lenihan 2011, Walton & Jaffe 2011, Jones 2011, Chun & Walters 2011, Koven & Simos Marques 2015, El Marzouki 2016, Graber 2017, Chun 2017). The ways people interact and interrelate through language is highly contextual outside of online settings, which necessarily translates to web-based interactions.The internet as a field site is best thought of as a web. One junction point (i.e. a video or photograph) will always be attached to peripheral points, (comments, related videos, user profiles) that help inform the overall structure of the field-- this is not unlike non-web-based field sites.

I draw much inspiration for this project from work done by Chun (2017), who analyzes the semiotic processes in online interactions between fans of K-pop on Youtube. In her paper, she outlines how various language ideologies are maintained through different modes of "metapragmatic actions, such as prescriptive acts of *correction,* conditional acts of *toleration*, and transgressive acts of *stylization*" (Chun 2017: 2). For example, Chun specifically picks examples of comments in which users correct the pronunciation of a video creator to showcase "prescriptive acts of correction" (2017: 2). I, too, have selected comments for analysis intentionally, but for the purpose of showcasing how both language ideologies and semiotic ideologies (both intentional and unintentional) are maintained through scaler processes that lead to assertion of identity. This intentional selection of data is much more useful in providing a backdrop to the claims I make-- simply selecting comments at random is not as rich nor as useful. Random sample based methodologies such as those employed by Kuznekoff (2013), who studies impression management across social medias, are useful in gleaning a broader sense of the participatory media space, but do not focus deeply on the experiences of people as complex actors within social web(s), whose participation is informed by conditions outside the internet. The field of these computer mediated interactions is not simply a random potpourri of videos, but rather a space that positions videos in relation to one another to reveal communal ideals and ideologies. By isolating key pieces of discourse, I clarify

the the emic qualities of internet performance and interaction. Also like Chun (2017), I draw primarily on language use in the videos as well as language in the comments as isolated key pieces of discourse, using "traces of attention" to further contextualize my analysis but not as the main foci. Unlike Chun (2017), I do not explore the phonological implications of the discourses I analyze, and thus do not focus on the way user's pronunciation of various words may influence semiotic ideology.

The ways social media, and Youtube specifically, becomes a site for guerilla ethnography is dependent on the methods of the the researcher. As noted above, I isolate key video comments and salient pieces of discourse within videos for analysis, but the methods by which these pieces of discourse are chosen for isolation and the methods by which they are then analyzed are equally important. A s*peech event* can be conceived of as a face-to-face social event between interlocutors in which language plays an important role, and is often the focus of ethnography in the tradition of linguistic anthropology (Hymes 1967). We might expand this concept for the internet, proposing a that *media event* (Hine 2001) is a social event between interlocutors on the web in which language plays an important role. This complicates the idea that ethnography is only validated through face-to-face interaction, for equally salient language use occurs on the web. To isolate these media events, I have chosen to pay particular attention to three scaler scaler processes through which identity performance manifests: through semiotic ideologies surrounding language, "authenticity" and what I term "imagined communities of practice." Scalar processes are a constituent part of language ideologies as outlined by Irvine and Gal (2000), but I also see them as a crucial part of computer mediated discourse-- all social action must be scaled to work within a media event, and as a result, is necessarily compared to social action outside of the internet. By isolating these three key manifestations of scaling, I am able to better showcase the role Youtube plays in the assertion and validation of identity.

Hine (2001: 42) notes that ethnography offers "the promise of getting closer to understanding the ways in which people interpret the world and organize their lives," while "quantitative studies are deemed

thin representations of isolated concepts imposed on the study by the researcher." Because the web is not a fixed piece of text and is in constant negotiation with other peripheral pieces of media and users, studying web-based interactions is in fact quite similar to traditional ethnography (McLelland 2002). In the same way an in-person ethnographer tries to make sense of a specific person or community's worldview based on observation and interaction, a digital ethnographer too tries to make sense of their subjects using observation and analysis of interaction between interlocutors. Some digital ethnographers may try to interact with the web communities they are studying either through in-person interviews or online communication, contributing to a post or commenting on a video-- the nature of the internet means that it is accessible to nearly all, including the ethnographer. However, the ways internet discourse is circulated, the ability for anyone to contribute to web-content, and the ways that the internet compresses space and time "urges linguistic anthropologists to rethink their notions of scale and scalar processes, but also what it means to 'speak a language'" (Hillewaert 2015: 205; in reference to Blommaert 2013, 2015). Hillewaert (2015) explains this to mean that sameness and difference on the internet come to be through linguistic resources that are not necessarily just "language;" language is not stable or bound and the internet certainly extends its use. This is not to say that linguistic anthropologists think of language as bound tool, rather than something someone does, but rather that it is useful to analyze the reasons why and ways how one may use language especially in its many forms. In this thesis, online guerilla ethnography is a means of understanding Youtube discourse and bringing to light the ways Moroccan youth in diaspora negotiate their personal national identity, as well as find belonging within an online community.

4. Case Studies

My analysis focuses on discourse within and around five Youtube videos uploaded in mid to late 2016 by seven self-described French-Moroccan Youtubers based in France. Each video was purportedly filmed and edited by the Youtubers themselves, with little to no scripting. As of February 8th, 2018, each

Youtube channel had a following of at least 2 thousand subscribers. All but one video has above 30,000 views, an intentional selection choice, for highly viewed videos are more vastly circulated and may thus be potentially significant in the regimentation of ideologies (Chun 2017: 6). To note, amongst the entirety of "Moroccan Tag" videos produced by French-Moroccans, few have above 30K views. Of the videos chosen, video 3 (see Figure 1, below), titled, "MOROCCAN ETHNICITY TAG! DARIJA VOSTFR (Ville d'origine... Plats préférés...Artistes préférés...)[5]" by Youtuber "BEHIJABI" has significantly less views than the rest. I have chosen to keep this video as a case study because user "BEHIJABI" comments on the videos of the other case studies in what I will outline as significant ways (see section 4.3.3). She also participates in many of the same scalar acts as the other Youtubers.

It's significant that videos 4 and 5 are co-created by sisters (Assia and Dounia) and cousins (Hasna and Fatima) respectively, contributing an additional level to the popular conception of "participatory media" -- not only are interlocutors participating with their viewers within the Youtube community, but also with their collaborator both outside and within the virtual web. Koven and Marques (2015: 216) ask: "what happens when a social actor orients their speech to multiple centers, or when that social actor's speech is judged by those in multiple sites?" Videos 4 and 5 are directed at multiple centers-- not only at multiple communities of Youtube viewers, but the co-hosts of each video are also centering their discourse around each other. Co-youtubers supply each other with additional semiotic resources, filling in gaps of knowledge for each other and performing as Youtubers in tandem. This ultimately locates transnational media discourse within yet another site for the negotiation of meaning.

Video 5 is also unique in that it is the second "Moroccan Tag" video created by user "Hasna B." Reactions to her first Youtube video, "The Moroccan Tag الطاغ المغربي," uploaded in May 2016, prompted the creation of a second video 7 months later, focusing specifically on her Moroccan Berber ethnicity.

[5] Translation, by me: "MOROCCAN ETHNICITY TAG! DARIJA Original Version Subtitled in French (Hometown… Favorite dishes...Favorite musicians…)"

This video, titled "TAG MAROCAIN BERBERE 🇲🇦 AMAZIGH TAG BERBERE - الطاغ الامازيغي[6]" is exemplary of the social power video reactions can have in pushing Youtubers to create catered content.

Further quantitative information about the case studies can be found in Figure 1, below. In the transcriptions of discourse, utterances in French are in italics, utterances in Arabic (Darija) are underlined, and utterances in English are left with no marking. Utterances of French loanwords borrowed into Darija are both italicized and underlined. All translations are my own. Figure 2 outlines the questions posed in the "Moroccan Tag" videos, noting which questions were posed in which Youtube video. In conjunction, these videos serve to reveal how Youtube as a cultural tool is used in the assertion of language ideologies, cultural identity and community.

Figure 1: Quantitative Data

Video	Upload Date	Username	Subscribers	Views	Comments	Likes : Dislikes
1	6/16/16	Lou Derq	23K	60, 873	154	1K : 53
2	7/26/16	Just Ihssane	41K	34, 334	791	806 : 53
3	8/20/16	BEHIJABI	7.2 K	6,570	51	152 : 7
4	9/13/16	AD SISTERS	2.9K	36, 585	180	801 : 39
5	12/14/16	Hasna B	92K	35, 556	264	701 : 61

Figure 2 : "Moroccan Tag" Questions

Question	**Youtuber**
What is your country of origin?	Hasna B
What is your city of origin?	BEHIJAB, Hasna B
Were you born in Morocco?	Hasna B
What are your favorite cities in Morocco?	BEHIJAB, Just Ihssane, AD SISTERS, Lou Derq, Hasna B

[6] This is how the title appears on Youtube. Hasna B is the only Youtuber who uses Arabic script in the title of her video.

What is your favorite place to visit in Morocco?	Just Ihssane, AD SISTERS
What was the last time you were in Morocco?	BEHIJAB, Hasna B
What is your favorite food?	BEHIJAB, Lou Derq
What is your favorite Moroccan cookie?	BEHIJAB
Do you like Moroccan cookies with or without almonds?	Just Ihssane, AD SISTERS
Caliente or Chemiya?	BEHIJAB
Do you like henna?	BEHIJAB, Just Ihssane, AD SISTERS
Do you like to go to the *hammam* and how many time do you go?	BEHIJAB, Just Ihssane, AD SISTERS
What song reminds you of Morocco?	BEHIJAB
Do you like Moroccan music?	Hasna B
Who is your favorite Moroccan musician/artist?	BEHIJAB, Just Ihssane, AD SISTERS, Lou Derq, Hasna B
What is your favorite Moroccan song?	BEHIJAB, Just Ihssane, AD SISTERS, Lou Derq
Who are the most famous people from your country?	Hasna B
What does a typical day in Morocco look like?	BEHIJAB
What does Morocco mean to you?	BEHIJAB, Just Ihssane, AD SISTERS
What is your favorite part of your culture?	Hasna B
What would you change/keep about Morocco?	Lou Derq
How many cups of tea do you drink a day, with or without mint?	Just Ihssane, AD SISTERS,
Who is your favorite person in Morocco?	Just Ihssane, AD SISTERS
Favorite Moroccan proverbs?	Lou Derq, Hasna B
Jellaba, Caftan, Takchita?	Lou Derq

Describe Moroccan Weddings in one word.	Lou Derq
Show a picture of you with the Moroccan flag.	Lou Derq
Do you speak Arabic?	Hasna B
What do you have in your house that represents your country?	Hasna B

4.1 Overt and Covert Language Ideologies in Context

Language is not neutral--people act and communicate relative to their perceptions of linguistic difference. Woolard (1998: 57) broadly defines language ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use." In this definition, both consciously realized and unconscious perceptions of language contribute to one's language ideologies; language ideologies are "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their load of moral and political interests" (Woolard 1998: 57). Language ideologies are therefore not simply about language in isolation, but are instead about the ways language links to identity, morality and epistemology. Because no utterance is free of its sociocultural contexts of usage (Bakhtin 1981), language always exists in relation to language ideologies, and utterances exist in relation to the social position of their speakers (Irvine and Gal 2000).

Peirce (1931-58) outlines three main semiotic relationships through which sign-vehicles can be related to their objects: iconicity, indexicality, and symbolism. These relationships are the foundation for the ways people ascribe meaning to words; here, "meaning" not only refers to the ways we understand words at an semantic level, but also the connotations words hold within the social world. An *iconic* relationship is one where a sign resembles the thing it represents, for example, a picture of a dog would conjure a mental understanding of the creature "dog." The way words are pronounced can also be conducted iconically, for example, extending the "o" in "long" (i.e. "looooong") to create a resemblance between the time involved in uttering the word and the lengthy time referred to. An *indexical* relationship

points to something else; it is the relationship between a sign vehicle and its object based on real connection, such as "casualty, co-presence or contiguity" (Nakassis 2017: 203). For example, one's accent may index their origin, even if they do not explicitly explain where they are from. A *symbolic* relationship occurs when a sign vehicle is related to its object on the basis of conventionality. For example, when we, as speakers of English, see the word "dog" we know it to mean a four legged furry creature, despite the fact that the arrangement of letters and word form of "dog" has little to do with its physical manifestation. All three semiotic relationships can exist in tandem and form the basis for meaning.

To examine how users of participatory media construct ideologies, I draw primarily from Irvine and Gal, (2000) who use Pierce's (1931-58) semiotic relationships as a platform to identify three key processes by which language ideologies come to exist: iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure (37). Irvine and Gal (2000) find that people perceive indexical connections between particular ways of using language, and then use language ideologies to rationalize these indexes. These processes relate the ways people construct links between language forms and social phenomena. Below, I briefly review Irvine and Gal's language ideology processes, using examples from the following sections to help inform future discussion.

Iconization happens when language is imagined to represent the inherent nature of a social group or activity. That is to say, "by picking out qualities supposedly shared by the social image and the linguistic image, the ideological representation-- itself a sign-- binds them together in a linkage that appears to be inherent" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38). In section 4.1, user "Just Ihssane" labels Darija as a "crooked" language, positioning it in contrast to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) a "proper" language. To assume that speakers of Darija would also be "crooked" is an act of iconization.

Fractal recursivity is a scalar process that occurs when opposition at one social level of understanding is projected onto a different social level. Integral to the conception of fractal recursivity is that it can lead to identity formation through the assertion of difference. In section 4.3, commenters to Just Ihssane's video use a variety of Arabic-English, "Arabisi/3arabisi" that is prevalent in CMC amongst speakers of Arabic. Arabisi/3arabisi is a distinct orthographic practice that transposes the roman alphabet to the Arabic language. In this corpus, 3arabisi often distinguishes dialectical Arabic from MSA creating opposition between the two languages at the level of digital orthography. This in turn highlights which language is seen as "proper" and which is seen as "crooked." To understand the latter opposition, I extend the notion of fractal recursivity by proposing that another ideological process is at play here: *scaler inversion*. I use this term to describe a situation where opposition is transferred to a different social level but is also inverted. In the case of 3arabisi, a script that contests the orthographic standards of Arabic, one might expect its use to be seen uneducated or iconically "crooked;" (much in the same way Just Ihssane describes it in section 4.1) however, use of Arabisi/3arabsi instead creates a persona of the internet-savvy, modern Arab (Bianchi 2013). This inverts expectations from one social scale to another. Understanding fractal recursivity, and the role of scalar inversion, can shed light on this online orthographic shift.

Erasure is heavily intertwined with fractal recursivity and iconization, and refers to the erasure of ideological differentiation, or, more broadly, any evidence that is at odds with the model. Irvine and Gal (2000: 38) note that it "simplifies the sociolinguistic field" by rendering facts that are incohesive with popular ideological schemes mute or unnoticed. For example, when Just Ihssane asserts that Darija is a "crooked" language, she is ignoring the opinions of others who see Darija as a non-crooked language.

Irvine and Gal's (2000) three process of ideology formation, along with scaler inversion, interact and are mutually constitutive in situating the language ideology that Darija is/isn't a "crooked" language.

In the following analysis, I will showcase how these three means of ideology construction function within the realm of the "Moroccan Tag." First, I will focus on the spoken discourse within the Youtube videos themselves, outlining the ways in which covert language usage may bolster language ideologies, as well as metalanguage. "Metalanguage," referred to as "lay sociolinguistics" when used by those not explicitly studying language (Androutsopoulos 2008), is an individual's own awareness of linguistic variability and its social role-- more simply put, it is language about language. While metalanguage does inform language ideology, it is not an intrinsic representation-- that is, one may assert an ideology that does not match up with what they actually believe or may not be reflected their social actions. In this way, metalanguage is its own "a form of social action" that can contest, regiment and shape language practice and ideology (Chun 2017: 4). In the spirit of guerilla ethnography, I next turn to the comment section, highlighting participatory metalanguage and the ways it differs in constructing language ideology. Lastly, I analyze the significance of subtitles, or lack thereof, in the implicit linguistic identities of the Youtubers being studied.

4.1.1 "My Arabic Isn't Good"

Between the native speaker and the L2 (second-language) learner lies a variety of language users, spanning a non-linear continuum of language competence. Because language learning is complex and language use is situationally relative, no linear continuum can exists; even native speakers use language in different ways, situating it relative to their environment . Still, this mode of thinking, as well as interest in language development in migration contexts and the increasing relevance of globalization has shed light on a transnational language user whose linguistic experience differs from both the native and L2 learner : the heritage language speaker. The term *heritage speaker* refers to a second generation language user, typically the child of first generation immigrants, who have existed in a bilingual environment since

childhood. The parents of heritage speakers are typically dominant in the language of their native country, while heritage speakers themselves tend to be dominant in the language of their primary country of residence (Benmamoun 2013). While heritage bilingual speakers can be categorized as "native speakers," (Rothman 2014) i.e. speakers whose language is unmarked as incomplete or grammatically incorrect by others within the same speech community, more often than not, as is the case with other translingual speakers, one language is stronger depending on context of use, frequency of use and complexity of use (Benmamoun 2013). As such, the heritage speaker's heritage language is generally characterized by both the heritage speaker and those "fluent" in the heritage language[7] by "brokenness" or "interrupted acquisition" which may provide material that can be used in the (re)production of "ideological claims about 'proper' language and its moral and ethical implications" (Love 2016: 80). While Love (2016) refers to ideology within the US context, here, I show how "language incompleteness" or feelings surrounding "language brokenness" can contribute to the production of language ideologies regarding 'proper' language.

The language ideology of language *appropriateness* is situated within Irvine and Gal's (2000) framework of iconization and fractal recursivity. Love (2016) states that often, language practices of heritage speakers index a purportedly problematic derivation from a monoglot standard, the imagined standard that people use or speak only one language, and that this single language is identical amongst its users -- this happens in settings where language policies situate a standard language as the norm. For example, in elementary and high schools, Moroccan children are instructed in either French or Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). While Darija may be used in the classroom, it is not an orthographic language, and is therefore not the language of instruction. As a result, Darija has been constructed as a non-standard or "non-real" language, that is iconically erased by denying its speakers social capital and resources

[7] This it not to say that heritage speakers cannot be "fluent" too! In fact, Rothman and Treffers-Daller (2014:1) argue that heritage speaker bilinguals are native speakers, and that nativeness, or fluency, can be "applicable to a state of linguistic knowledge that is characterized by significant differences to the monolingual baseline." Fluency has more to do with linguistic knowledge then the ability to speak "perfectly."

affiliated with the standard language (Mendoza-Denton & Osborne 2013: 115). However, the internet (and participatory media in particular) creates a space in which language standards do not need to be followed in the same way-- use of Darija by the "Moroccan Tag" Youtubers is a normalized scalar inversion. In fact, in this case, derivation from popular languages norms instead iconically links Daija to modernity by showcasing that users have an understanding of the linguistic ecology of Youtube. Although their language may be "broken," these Youtuber's heritage language use is scaled as appropriate on the basis of *effort*-- if a user is trying their best to use the language, they are still able to assert their identity and pride in their ethnic heritage.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1998) explain *communities of practice* as speech communities in which the norms and social identities of speakers are considered in conjunction to the multiple communities they are a part of-- one exists within a unique community of practice based on social engagement, and in another based on a different level of social engagement. The term *communities of practice* serves to delineate the role of the speech community and more generally mediate the relationship between "language, society, and consciousness" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1998: 490). Youtube creates online communities of practice. For example, the viewers and content creators of the different "tag" videos exist within separate, but intertwined, communities of practice. Users choose to create, watch, and comment on certain videos based on their language, social placement, and general interests. Theoretically, the transnational nature of Web 2.0 creates an infinitely large web of users, however, Youtube content creators still make videos for a constructed audience, an imagined group of viewers who may or may not actually interact with the content produced (Boyd 2007). By nature of having a specific audience in mind, Youtubers set the foundation for a community of practice. The creators of the "Moroccan Tag" videos, and the internet users who interact with them, form a community of practice that uses scaler inversion to construct "broken language" as communicatively appropriate in the context of these specific Youtube videos.

Four of the five videos analyzed begin with a disclaimer regarding language use, revealing two sides to the language ideology of *appropriateness:* first that "broken" Darija is appropriate as the language of the "Moroccan Tag," and second, that Darija (broken or not) is neither formal nor prestigious within its wider social context, but within the context of the "Moroccan Tag," is reclaimed as appropriate. User "Lou Derq" illustrates the former side of the language ideology of *appropriateness* when she speaks to her own language ability, suggesting that she does not speak the language very well, but because this is the "Moroccan Tag" she is going to speak in Arabic (Darija) anyways:

Example 1: Lou Derq

Lou Derq	Okay, so I'm going to speak in Arabic. I'm not sure if you will understand me well, but as long as you understand me that's perfect, *in any case* I can speak like this, and I speak like this with my family in Morocco, *so* they understand me well, and that's why [laughs] *I hope* you can understand me in this *video so let's start,* we are going to do *the tag*, Moroccan Tag, *oh la la*, Moroccan Tag, Moroccan Tag, so you understand me *100%*

0:20; Introduction to video

In asserting her determination to speak Darija, "Lou Derq" takes an ideological stance, iconically linking Darija to the "Moroccan Tag" and the community of practice affiliated with it. She maintains that while she is not certain if her use of Darija will be understood well, it is appropriate in the context of the video ("I'm not sure you will understand me well, but as long as you understand me [enough], that's perfect"). Although her language may be "broken," the most important aspect of her usage is that it is comprehensible. This disclaimer does not cover the broader social ideology surrounding Darija, and is specifically about Lou Derq's relationship to the language.

In the following transcripts, however, the disclaimers uttered by BEHIJAB and Just Ihssane speak to a social language ideology that is iconically linked to their language use. In contrast to the former example, here, Darija is more explicitly constructed as "improper:"

Example 2: BEHIJAB

BEHIJAB	*I will admit, I am a little stressed to be speaking in Arabic, because not everybody likes...I don't know how to explain it… whatever, I'm just going to start.*

0:23 ; Introduction to Video

Example 3: Just Ihssane

Just Ihssane	*In Morocco, we have a language… a language a little bit, how do you say…* crooked… Let's go!

0:54; Introduction to Video

When "BEHIJAB" states: "I don't know how to explain it… whatever, I'm just going to start," she is not taking an explicit stance. Implicitly, however, it seems she has already constructed her imagined group of viewers, who presumably have context for the ways Darija is constructed as a non-prestigious language by Moroccan speakers. She seems to understand that those viewers who do not have context do not need it to understand the video. In this way, BEHIJAB conveys that she accepts she will be using Darija, ("whatever, I'm just going to start.") and that it is appropriate within the context of the "Moroccan Tag."

"Just Ihssane," in contrast to BEHIJAB, outwardly marks the Moroccan dialect as "crooked," switching from French into Darija when making this utterance. This hybrid language use allows Just Ihssane to express divergent cultural personas-- heritage multilinguals have the ability to exploit variations within language to create meaning, drawing on their overall linguistic repertoire. Deumert and Lexander (2013: 526) explain: "in multilingual societies, different linguistic forms often carry different meanings and associations and writers (just as speakers) can tap into these meaning as they create texts." A Youtube video is in practice a created text, and switching between languages is a form of verbal art that indexes meaning. By switching into Darija (and not using French subtitles[8]) "Just Ihssane" constructs a specific community of practice amongst her viewers, comprised of those who speak Darija, which may be a mode of safely criticizing the language, "reaffirming pragmatic rules for the appropriate use of different code and registers," (Graber 2017: 153) yet not inviting those outside of her constructed community to feel negatively towards the language. This is reminiscent of Chun (2004), who studies the way comedian

[8] The role of subtitles will be discussed further in section 4.1.3.

Margaret Cho uses a racialized style of speech labeled "mock asian" as a legitimate form of mockery, which reproduces stereotypes of Asians in the US, but also deconstructs and calls to question those same discourses. Just Ihssane employs a legitimate form of mockery by calling her language "crooked" which too, may call to question ideology surrounding Darija, and does elicit responses from commenters (see Section 4.1.3 example 6).

Interdiscursivity is the concept that "any given utterance is always connected to a reflective of past and future discourses that circulate in wider social, political and historical contexts" (Love 2016: 81). By relating use of Darija to common language ideologies about "proper" language, "BEHIJAB" and "Just Ihssane" interdiscursivly situate the language within its context amongst Moroccans. These Youtubers showcase two opposing qualities of Darija: 1) that it is a language that not everyone likes, or that it is a "crooked" language (i.e. it is often not an appropriate language) and 2) that, regardless, it will be used for the video (i.e. in the context of the video, it is appropriate).

The "Ad Sisters," too, commence their video with a disclaimer regarding their language use:

Example 4: AD SISTERS

AD SISTERS	Assia: *We're gonna speak in Arabic, because it's the Moroccan Tag, but pay attention, not literary Arabic or anything, Arabic of the country, Darija.*

0:27; Introduction to Video

In this transcript, AD SISTER Assia makes sure to distinguish between "Arabic" and "Darija" or the "Arabic of the country" and "literary Arabic." She asserts, like Lou Derq, that they will be speaking in Arabic because "it's the Moroccan Tag," interdiscursivly creating a context for language use. This legitimizes the use of "not literary Arabic" and positions use of Darija as "appropriate" in the case of the "Moroccan Tag." For all three Youtubers, providing a disclaimer can be seen as a means of stance taking, and a form of "linguistic authority" (Woolard 1985) which sets the ideological scene for the rest of their videos.

Despite the fact that the bulk of the "Moroccan Tag" videos are filmed in Darija, each user approaches their relationship to the French language in a different way. The majority of Youtubers choose to speak their tag questions in French, and then respond in Darija. For example, they might say: "What is your favorite song by a Moroccan artist?" in French, and then respond to the question in Darija. BEHIJAB, the strongest bilingual of the first four videos[9], chooses to speak both her questions and answers in Darija. When it comes time to answer the final question, however, she shifts which elements she draws on from her linguistic repertoire. This question, "What does Morocco mean to you?" is more emotionally charged than the previous questions, and thus necessitates a more complex response and use of her bilingual linguistic inventory. She asserts:

Example 5: BEHIJAB

BEHIJAB	*To be frank, I'm going to speak in French, because in Arabic I have some difficulties… I'm going to to do a French-Moroccan, a Moroccan-French.*

10:38; In response to "What does Morocco mean to you?"

This statement presumes that she is deriving from the norm of her community of practice by speaking in both French and Darija, when in fact, most Moroccans who consider themselves billingual constantly speak "French-Moroccan." Graber (2017) describes how "pure Buryat" (a minority language in Siberia) is conceived of by speakers of the language as an language one speaks in the kitchen, rather than in a university. "Real Buryat" is colloquial and informal, but also imagined as separate from outside influence. BEHIJAB asserts a similar claim in stating that she will "do a French-Moroccan," because, while she might conceptualize as Moroccan (Darija) as informal and colloquial, by tagging "French" to the way she speaks, she is ignoring the translingual reality of many Moroccans, who constantly move between Moroccan and French in different spheres of interaction. This, in turn, may add to a perception that she does not speak Arabic well, or that she has "some difficulties" when speaking Arabic.

[9] I have made this assessment as a heritage speaker myself, based only on spoken discourse within the videos analyzed. BEHIJAB is the "strongest bilingual" because she does not switch as frequently as the other users into French, and is able to use a wider range of vocabulary to answer the "Moroccan Tag" questions.

Regardless of BEHIJAB's feelings towards her competence in Darija, it is still clear that using Darija, even in conjunction with French, is a communicative norm of this Youtube video genre. Just Ihssane speaks to her competence in Darija as well, expressing that she doesn't speak fluently:

Example 6: Just Ihssane

Just Ihssane	But I don't speak Arabic, Darija, fluently like you all do, I mean, you see that I have some trouble. When I went to the UK, then I went back to Morocco, I wanted to go see my grandmother I was totally *speechless* in front of her, and she said, "Good job Ihssane, you went to England and you forgot Arabic. That's it. Now we just speak English." This head of mine, it understood nothing. But little by little...

7:08; In response to: What does Morocco mean to you?

Just Ihssane explains that she has "some trouble" speaking Darija, and uses an example to illustrate. She quotes her Grandmother, who, in a seemingly sarcastic manner, states "Good job Ihssane, you went to England and you forgot Arabic." Graber (2017), in reference to Wilce (2009), explains that when language is an integral part of self identification, it becomes an emotional object for its speakers. Language loss, or attrition of a heritage language, can then become and emotional process, because it is so linked to identity. Conversely, to speak a heritage language may solidify one's place within their ethnic community. However, Just Ihssane does state that "little by little" her Arabic is coming back, and clearly, through using Darija throughout the video, she showcases that she is competent enough in the language to at least answer the "Moroccan Tag" questions. Here, she showcases that it is *effort* (in trying to speak the language "little by little") that validates her place as a speaker of Darija.

Another discursive tool used by two of the Youtubers being studied that situates Darija as appropriate with in the context of the "Moroccan Tag" videos is *crowdsourcing*. Here, crowdsourcing is defined as a practice of obtaining information from an imagined audience, particularly to fill a gap of knowledge within a speaker's discourse. By allowing their imagined audience the potential to "mend" their "broken language" these Youtubers are able to admit to their linguistic imperfections, while still continuing to speak Darija. Crowdsourcing is not only a way to discursively situate "broken language" as

appropriate but also to "perform non-performance" (see section 4.2.4) and build imagined community (see section 4.3). BEHIJAB does this in a rhetorical fashion, while Just Ihssane explicitly asks her audience to provide her with the information she lacks in the comments of her video:

Example 7: BEHIJAB

BEHIJAB	*Comedian, how* do you say *comedian?* I forgot. Well. Someone who makes me laugh a lot is Hannane Show

6:40; In response to: "Who is your favorite Moroccan artist?

Example 8: Just Ihssane

Just Ihssane	Euuuuhh… "loose"? No, not "loose" Oh man, I don't remember. Is how you say *"almonds"* "loose?" Tell me in the comments, please. [points downwards] My parents left, are actually in Morocco, so I'd have to call them [to ask].

1:44; In response to: "Do you like cookies with or without almonds?"

First, BEHIJAB moves between French and Arabic, expressing that she forgot the word for comedian. She asks a (potentially rhetorical) question, "how do you say comedian?" This statement invites the audience to realize her gap in knowledge of specific vocabulary in Darija, but her continued insistence to speak in Darija in conjunction with French is an act of translanguaging. Chun (2017: 4) asserts: "Even within a single cultural context, the same hybrid language may invoke divergent cultural personas; the same accent may be heard as a creative cosmopolitan splash in one instance yet heard as disorderly, defective vulgarity in the next." This explains why, even though BEHIJAB's Darija may be seen as broken, it is still appropriate and useful for the negotiation of identity in this context. BEHIJAB's utterance invites the audience to compare her language to that of a more fluent speaker, measuring the extent to which BEHIJAB fits into a "native" framework. However, this act of scaling (Gal 2016) does not compromise her place within the Moroccan online community, and is in fact seen as appropriate on the basis of effort (this will be discussed further in the following section).

Just Ihssane's utterance serves a similar purpose, except she explicitly asks her audience to fill in a gap of knowledge-- she asks her audience to tell her the word for "almonds" in Darija in the comments.

Just Ihssane is using the multimodal features of a Youtube video to engage her audience, pointing downward as if to point at the comments section, although when filming, she is physically apart from the screen on which the video is projected (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: “Tell me in the comments, please!”

Through language disclaimers, interdiscursive knowledge about pre-determined Moroccan language ideologies, and crowdsourcing, these Youtubers situate Darija as the language of the “Moroccan Tag,” marking it as *appropriate* in contrast to other media settings, such as television, where Darija is de-legitimized as a full language. Users are situating “broken” or “non-fluent” Darija as appropriate as well, inviting the audience to scale (Gal 2016) their language in contrast to “non-broken” language. This act follows a pattern of “by asserting x action is true, x action is perceived as true;” by explicitly noting the gaps or “brokenness” in their language, Youtubers are guiding their audiences to perceive their language as broken. “Broken” language can only be understood in comparison to non-“broken”language, which is an inherent act of comparison and thus a scaler understanding.

4.1.2. Metalanguage in Comments

While language ideologies can be personal, held only by a few people, they are more often widespread, contingent on the histories and social relationships of the people holding them. In this way,

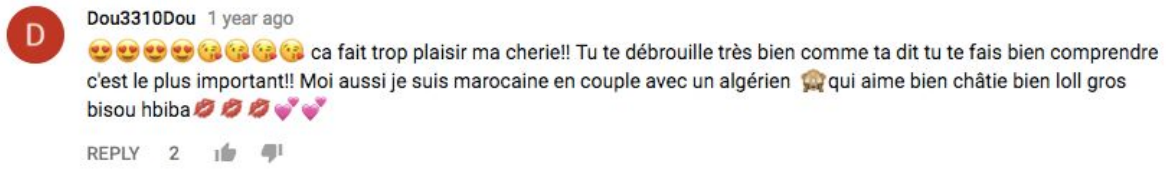
language ideologies are collaborative, offering interlocutors the chance to negotiate meaning. Youtube is a site for such collaboration, inviting users from disparate locations into collaborative stancetaking acts (Chun and Walters 2011: 252). Users may collaborate through the creation of similar videos, but, due to the semiotic ecology of the Youtube space and the one-sided nature of most videos, the bulk of collaboration happens within the comments section, creating interdiscursive links between the videos and comments. Because "language is the most salient way we have of establishing and advertising our social identities" (Lippi Greene 1997: 5) meta-discourse about language within the comments is useful in the overall analysis of how Moroccan youth in diaspora stake their claim as "true" Morrocans, as well as to observe the ways language ideologies are reproduced and contested.

First, I will return to the language ideology outlined in section 4.1.1, that "broken language" is *appropriate* on the basis of *effort.* This sentiment is asserted by the Youtubers themselves, but is also reproduced in the comments section. This, we can see in the three comments below, posted in response to Lou Derq's video:

Examples 1, 2, 3: Lou Derq Comments; "Broken language" is appropriate on the basis of effort.

Translation: *You were brave enough to make this video in Darija, congratulations! I am French but originally from Morocco and I assure you that I understood everything !!!* Thank god*, we were born in France, we grew up here, but we manage well with our second language, Moroccan Darija*

Translation: *wooww you're not bad you lack a little bit of vocabulary but you're very comprehensible… I hope that you go to Algeria with your husband I am algerien married to a moroccan we go to morocco i would like it if we went to algeria* God willing *good continuation, I love your videos!*



Translation: *this makes me so happy my dear !! You manage very well like you said you are comprehensible, that's the most important!! Me too I am moroccan in a relationship with an algerian who likes to tease loll big kisses* dear

In two of the above comments, users "Dou3310Dou" and "Souad Shams" use a conjugated form of "débroullier," a French word with no exact equivalent in English. In one sense, this word conveys the meaning of "to get by," or "to manage" but not in the half-hearted way those phrases may suggest in English. Instead, to "débroullie" is to get by on the basis of effort. Both users express that Lou Derq's use of Arabic takes effort, but that she makes do quite well regardless. This situates her "broken language" as appropriate within the context of her video. User "Dali Mzg" expresses the sentiment of "tu t'en sors pas mal," a phrase that holds the same connotations as "tu te débroullies," and suggests that Lou Derq works hard to speak Arabic, and does so successfully. In all three comments, the users are validating Lou Derq's use of Darija, but also connecting with her on different fronts of similarity (i.e. Souad Shams is also a Moroccan born in France, Dali Mzg and Dou3310Dou are also in a Moroccan-Algerian relationship). This strengthens the bond between users, as they enact a sort of cross-play (Goffman 1981), linking comment discourse to the video contents (see section 4.3 for more on the way cross-play between users strengthens community).

Users in the comments of Just Ihssane's videos express similar sentiments of solidarity. One user, "Hispana Smahane" even expresses how Just Ihsaane's use of Arabic in her video counters Hispana Smahane's previous impression that Moroccans in France do not know how to speak Arabic:

Example 4: Just Ihssane Comments: Moroccans in France don't speak Arabic

Translation: **Hispana Smahane:** *I'm from* Oujda *I've been here in France for two years and I see Moroccans who don't know how to speak Arabic, but today I watched your video and I was shocked by the way you speak arabic It's the first time I've commented on one of your videos but continue like this* may god bless you
Just Ihssane: *Thank you!! ahaha I force myself to speak it to practice every day* :-) God bless you

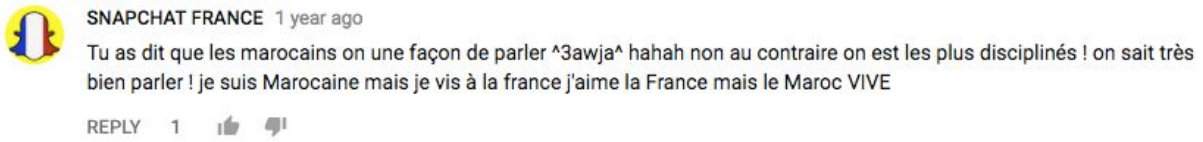
This interaction is a clear example of the ways Youtube as a new media space can work towards the regimentation of ideologies. User Hispana Smahane holds an ideology that Moroccans in France do not know how to speak Arabic, but Just Ihssane's use of the language proves otherwise. In the above example, both users Just Ihssane and Hispana Smahane switch into Arabic (3arabizi[10]) at the end of their comments, a translingual practice that functions as an ingroup marker. While 3arabizi originated as a result of keyboard-based technical limitations (keyboards were designed for the latin alphabet) Bianchi (2013) argues that "acts of spelling, especially systematically unconventional ones, are acts of identity." He also notes that 3arabizi is often phatic, which is the case in this example, where both Just Ihssane and Hispana Smahane end their comments with chunks of information that hold symbolic value, but not much semantic value. Here, we might conceive of phatic 3arabizi as a "trace of attention" (section 3, p 14) that functions to convey shared religiosity[11] but not to express deeper meaning.

Youtube is a site not only for the affirmation of ideologies, but a site to contest them as well.

[10] In this corpus, text in French, English and 3arabisi was the most common, with a few instances of Arabic script.
[11] This switch to 3arabisi may be because the users are referencing religion and Arabic is the language of Islam.

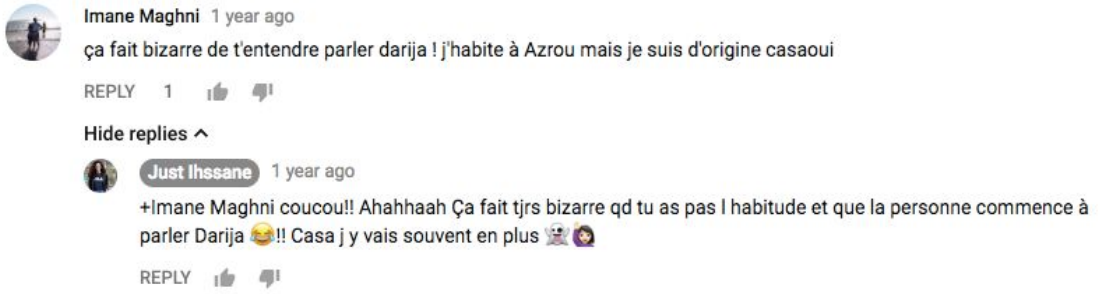
Below, we see the ways two seperate users contest language ideologies expressed by Just Ihsanne: 1) that Darija is a "crooked" language (see Example 5), and 2) that using Darija is a appropriate in the context of the Moroccan Tag (see Example 6).

Example 5: Just Ihssane Comments: We do not speak "crooked"



Translation: *You said that Morocans have a way of speaking* "crooked" *hahah no on the contrary we are the most disciplined! We know how to speak very well ! I am Moroccan but I like in france I love France but Morocco LIVES*

Example 6: Just Ihssane Comments: It's strange to hear you speaking Darija!



Translation: **Imane Maghni:***It's strange to hear you speaking Darija! I live in Azrou but I am originally from Casablanca.*
Just Ihsane: *Hello! Ahahhaah it's always strange when you aren't used to it and then someone starts speaking Darija !! I go to Casa a lot*

First, user "SNAPCHAT FRANCE" responds to Just Ihsanne's introductory disclaimer (Example 3, p 25) that Moroccan Darija is "crooked." This user states that he does not agree with Just Ihsanne, and in fact, finds that Moroccans "know how to speak very well!" This stance is validated by the fact that SNAPCHAT FRANCE is, like Just Ihsanne, a Moroccan from France, who is very enthusiastic about being Moroccan ("I love France, but Morocco LIVES). Just Ihsanne put forward a language ideology and, by default, presented it to be ratified by an audience; SNAPCHAT FRANCE responds to this by disagreeing with Just Ihsanne's stance. This is the one way language ideologies are created and mediated -- through alignment and disalignment of stance.

In Example 6, user "Imane Maghni" contests another language ideology implicitly put forth in Just Ihssane's videos : Darija is appropriate in the context of her videos. Imane Maghni expresses that it is strange to hear Just Ihssane speak Darija, presumably because all her other videos are recorded in French. "Strange" disaligns with "appropriate" on the basis that "appropriate" language use would likely seem "natural" or if not natural, at least would make sense in the context of the video. Just Ihssane responds to this sentiment, using emojis and shortened orthography which may show playfulness, stating that she understands Imane Maghni's sentiment, for it is "always strange when you aren't used to it." By agreeing with Imane Maghni, Just Ihssane repositions her stance to accommodate for two somewhat contradicting ideologies: 1) hearing Darija is strange when you aren't used to it 2) even if hearing Darija is strange, it is still appropriate in the context of her video. While she doesn't explicitly express the latter ideology, she does not redact her choice to use the language, which in turn may be seen as affirmation of her previously displayed language ideology. Other comments, too, help her to more explicitly align her use of "broken" Darija as appropriate. In the following comment (Example 6), user "bouchra fty" expresses that she is glad to hear that Just Ihssane has difficulties with speaking Darija, because she too struggles with the same issues.

Example 7: Just Ihssane Comments: It's reassuring I'm not the only one...

Translation: **bouchra fty:** *it's reassuring that I'm not the only one who has trouble speaking lol… your video is great!*
Just Ihssane: *Lolll ! I think there's better than me but also worse than me :D :D*

Again, Just Ihssane does not defend her decision to speak Darija throughout the video, but she also does

not rescind her decision. Instead, she states that there some people that are better than her at speaking Darija, and some that are worse. Her use of smiley face emojis indicates that she is happy with bouchra fty's comment, which may be because it creates a bond between the two users.

Comments like the one above, however, may also create the potential for ideological erasure--because very few comments mark broken language as negative, there is no precedent or space within this specific community of practice to label the language use of the Youtubers studied as inappropriate. A few users, however, do note that these Youtubers should increase their language proficiency. Below, user "amazigh ag atta" expresses this sentiment to Hasna B, and user "Je m'en fou de tout" expresses a similar message to the AD SISTERS:

Examples 8, 9: Hasna B Comments, AD SISTERS Comments, You need to learn your language better!

Translation: *Good job girls, it's good to stick to your origins and be proud… but you really should work on improving your tamazight (berber)*

Translation: *You don't speak Arabic well it's really too bad, Arabic is the language of our religion it's better to speak Arabic than French*

Interestingly, user "Je m'en fou de tout" does not specify what form of Arabic the AD SISTERS should improve on-- throughout the video they speak only in Darija. While Arabic is the language of the Quran, Quranic arabic is quite different from Darija or even MSA. Regardless, this sentiment ("our religion") implies that there is some sort of imagined community between the AD Sisters and "Je m'en fou de tout" on the basis of religion, where language is just a tertiary identity marker. User "zyuz nun" compliments Hasna B and her cousin for being proud of their origins, yet still finds that they should improve their Tamazight. Because social identity and language can be so intimately linked, it seems these commenters

are asserting that, to truly stick to your origins, you must also work on improving your language. Koven and Simões Marques (2015: 213) explain that "migrants' language use has often been treated as emblematic of their Otherness." In this case, Koven and Simões Marques are referring to non-migrants in the same country as migrants treating migrant language as emblematic of Otherness. However, we see that this same act of Othering can be done by those of the same origins. Below is an example of discourse by someone who is presumably (based on language employment) Moroccan, othering BEHIJAB in her linguistic practices, not because her Darija is "broken" but rather because he perceives her to be ashamed of speaking it.

Example 9: BEHIJAB Comments

Translation: **yousseef PSG:** Praise to God *you speak very well in Darija, I understood very well the problem is that you are ashamed, like all the Moroccans in France.*
BEHIJAB: *Why ashamed?*
yousseef PSG: *ashamed of speaking Darija, you said that you were stressed.. Whatever, let it go,*

> *don't worry. your video is* very good ??? you are radiant :)
> **BEHJAB:** *I was stressed to not speak well in Arabic!*
> **youssef PSG:** ok I apologize a lot, *my sister you know why I said that* come on *I have already spoke to* many *French Moroccans who know how to speak Darija well but who are ashamed of speaking it even when they are home*

In this transcript BEHIJAB is recontextualizing a comment she made earlier in the video, that she is stressed to speak Arabic (see p 26, Example 2: "*I will admit, I am a little stressed to be speaking in Arabic, because not everybody likes...I don't know how to explain it…whatever, I'm just going to start").* In the initial context of her video, it seems as though BEHIJAB is stating that she is stressed to speak Darija because not everybody likes Darija, but in this comment, she asserts that she was in fact stressed to speak Darija because she doesn't think she speaks it well. This is an example of the ways users can scale ideology in different directions depending on context. Yousseeff PSG compares her to other Moroccans in France, who are ashamed of speaker Darija, even while "at home," presumably, Morocco. His statement deterritorializes BEHIJAB, distancing her from non-French-Moroccans, until she reterritorializes herself by countering Yousseff PSG's comment, placing herself in opposition to those French-Moroccans who are ashamed to speak in Darija. By being able to participate with user Yousseef PSG, she is able to contest his interpretation of her utterance and the underlying ideology behind it.

The interdiscursive links created between videos and comments on Youtube may also reaffirm language ideologies. Blommaert (2013: 617) states that deviant 'unique' material can come to be seen as emblematic of particular identities -- "broken" Arabic becomes emblematic of second generation immigrants, and is (re)affirmed and/or contested as appropriate within the context of Youtube videos through video comments. Metalanguage is "best understood as a social action that lies in relation to other kinds of action" (Chun 2017:4). It is a tool that regiments language ideologies in the ways it manifests, becomes repeated, and it shapes future language practice, and has broader implications for the construction of identity on Youtube.

4.1.3 The Role of Subtitles

Youtubers use a variety of linguistic resources in the regimentation of language ideologies. Two such resources have been previously discussed-- spoken discourse in videos and written discourse in video comments. Subtitles add another layer to video discourse, and are a linguistic resource that allows Youtubers to orthographically represent their speech superimposed atop their videos. This act often creates dissonance between what is actually said and what is represented, but can also serve as a means of sending multiple messages as once, while simultaneously opening up video legibility to a wider audience. As a result, understanding video content without subtitles serves as an ingroup marker. In the case of the "Moroccan Tag," only those with a certain level of communicative competence in Darija are able to successful understand the videos without subtitles[12], while a more global (francophone) audience is reliant on subtextual ques and French subtitles to fully comprehend the videos.

Subtitles are a form of "textual linguistic dexterity" (Deumert & Lexander 2013) that allow Youtubers to successfully articulate meaning that caters to both the local and global . This form of online cultural bricolage adds yet another dimension to translanguaging. Cultural bricolage may be thought of as a process where people use cultural resources from multiple social arenas to form new cultural identities-- here, users are using their multiple languages as cultural resources. Hillewaert (2015) argues that the only reason why orthographic practices work as an act of identity is because the messages are intended for a specific audience who presumably has a similar set of language ideologies. Here, I argue that addressing discourse to both a specific (local) and extended (global) audience works just as well as an act of identity-- in creating a contrast with everyone who isn't part of "x group" being a part of "x group" becomes clearer. Below, I have selected four comments from different videos: Hasna B, Lou Derq and Just Ihsane's videos respectively. The first two comments note that they would have appreciated subtitles, while the last notes that they were very happy to find subtitles and could then understand everything

[12] Three of the five Youtubers uses subtitles in their videos, Hasna B and Lou Derq do not.

completely. The last two comments are from Just Ihsane's video.

Example 1: Hasna B Comments, Subtitles

Translation: *I didn't understand anything* lol *Can you help up with a little translation Hasna*

Example 2: Lou Derq Comments, Subtitles

Translation: *It would have been cool to put subtitles :/*

Example 3, 4: Just Ihssane Comments, Subtitles

Translation: **Youssra Sarah:** *Great video beautiful I am Morroccan from Al Hoceima I understood everything in the video even if I don't speak Arabic fluently*. #TeamMorocco *always there*
Just Ihssane: Lovvvve #TeamMorocco

Translation: *Without the subtitles I was able to understand, I'm Algerian Moroccan from Oujda and Marrakech*

and in Algeria Oran and Mazouna there ya go kisses kisses

Subtitles add to the "virtual wardrobe" of a Youtuber, showing the audience "the many faces of one's identity and simultaneously negotiating and presenting identity to a variety of audiences" (Papacharissi 2009 : 212). A transnational "virtual wardrobe" is created by catering to both the local and global, which adds to the assertion of language ideologies. First off, by using French subtitles, Youtubers may be presuming (based on past video interactions, perhaps) that their audience will be primarily French, and/or that in order to reach a wider audience, video content must be in French. By failing to providing their Youtube network with subtitles, Hasna B and Lou Derq are catering to a local audience, adding a level of exclusivity to their video content. On Youtube, users are aware that their statements can be accessed by anyone at any moment in time, even to an unintended audience-- Hasna B and Lou Derq challenge this by speaking in Darija, a language that is exclusive to a specific community (of North Africans). Just Ihssane, on the other hand, offers subtitles to her viewers. This act opens up her videos to a more global audience, yet does not compromise the exclusive in-group identification acquired by understanding her video without subtitles. The third comment above, by user "Youssra Sarah" does not mention subtitles, yet still notes that although she does not speak Arabic well, she understood almost the entire video. She states that she is "always there," localizing herself despite being (presumably) abroad. User "shaines DZ MA TR" explicitly states that they can understand the video without subtitles, asserting their place within the more exclusive sub-group of Just Ihsanne's viewers.

Texts, in this case, subtitles, "have meaning not in themselves but only when used;" texts must be "understood productively, contextually and discursively, because they have histories, they are contextually influenced, and they occur within larger frameworks of meaning (Pennycook 2007: 53). This is to say, subtitles are only meaningful within their context-- meta-discourse discussing subtitles is a way to construct subtitles as meaningful pieces of speech that validate ingroup identification. Comparing subtitle content to spoken content and noting dissonance between the two is another way to glean

meaning from subtitles as a piece of a user's virtual wardrobe. This provides further context for the regimentation of language ideologies.

One case of dissonance between what is spoken and what is expressed through subtitles can be found in a previous example, outlined in Example 3 in Section 4.1.1-- Just Ihssane declaring that Moroccan Arabic (Darija) is "3awja" or "crooked." Just Ihssane chooses to begin her subtitles after making this comment, which means that only those who understand Darija can pick up on her declared language ideology (that "we have a way of speaking that is a little… how do you say… crooked.") Another such case of dissonance between what is said and what is expressed through subtitles happens in the beginning of BEHIJAB's video. I have highlighted the relevant portion of discourse below:

Example 5: BEHIJAB Subtitles: I'm going to ask questions in French

BEHIJAB	*0:39 You know what, I'm going to ask the questions in Arabic… no English.. ugh, I don't know what I'm saying. I will ask the questions in French, and then respond in Arabic*
BEHIJAB (subtitles)	*0:39 You know what, I'm going to ask the questions in Arabic.. In English (weird noise lol) what am I saying … I'm going to ask the questions in French and respond in Arabic (darija)*

Here, BEHIJAB is using subtitles to demarcate a difference between "Arabic" and "Darija" to her audience. This aides in the regimentation of the ideology that Darija is appropriate within the context of her video. BEHIJAB uses dissonance between spoken discourse and subtitles for the sake of clarification, but also as a way to include those who do not speak Darija or have the cultural context for her answers. For example, when answering the question, "what is your favorite food?" she states:

Example 6: BEHIJAB Subtitles: Moroccan Chicken

BEHIJAB	2:27 Chicken Hamar with olives, oh how I love Chicken Hamar, that, *its so good*, It's really good
BEHIJAB (subtitles)	2:27 *Moroccan chicken (roasted chicken with olive and fries) oh how I love Moroccan chicken, it's so good. Really, it's so good.*

Here, she uses subtitles to explain what "Chicken Hamar" is, a type of Moroccan roasted chicken served with olives and fries. This contextualizes her statement for a viewer who may not speak Darija. In the next example, she elaborates within the subtitles to situate her own use of "broken" Darija. Continuing to answer the same question as above, she expresses:

Example 7: BEHIJAB Subtitles: Pastilla

BEHIJAB	2:40 And then I would say… Pastilla. Bastilla Pastilla or Bastilla
BEHIJAB (subtitles)	2:40 *Then there is Pasilla. Pastilla? Bastilla, (I don't know how to pronounce it)*

Again, subtitles aide in the regimentation of ideology-- noting her own perceived mispronunciation allows BEHIJAB to situate her "broken" language within her video, while simultaneously revealing to an outsider audience that she does not speak Darija perfectly.

Finally, Youtubers may use subtitles to situate their language use within a more global network of viewers through the use of English. Translanguage in orthography, here, subtitles, may showcase the ways two language types exist harmoniously but also index different parts of the self (Hillewaert 2015). In this case, Darija serves as an ingroup marker, showcasing the local. French and English, on the other hand serve as an "out-group" marker, or a way to widen the sphere of viewers to a more global level. English, more than French, is used to portray a modern, cosmopolitan persona because it is a language that indexes modernity and globalization (McIntosh 2010). Even the English title of these tag videos ("The Moroccan Tag") sets up Youtubers to prepare for a global audience, whether or not the Youtubers actually speak English. One example of the use of English in Just Ihssane's video is outlined below. She is responding to: "What is your favorite city in Morocco?" She responds by saying she likes Rabat, but also areas that are green. She states:

Example 8: Just Ihssane Subtitles: LOL

Just Ihssane	I love the cities that have trees...the ocean...*cows* [laughs]

Just Ihssane (Subtitles)	*I love the cities that have trees… the ocean...cows LOL*

Interestingly, she uses “LOL” (laugh out loud) an English acronym. A French equivalent, “MDR (mort de rire, i.e. dying from laughter) exists, yet she integrates the term in English, using it as a cultural resource which may subtextually refer to the language ideology that English is a modern, global language. Godin (2006: 134) states that translingual practice can be used as a “playful function of the language, usually used for joking and simply "having fun"” Here, Just Ihssane’s subtitle addition is a prime example. However, while it is likely that English use by Just Ihssane subtextually relates to English as a global language, it is important to remember that hybrid language has the ability to conjure different cultural personas in the minds of an audience, which may be judged in various ways (Chun 2017). Not all viewers may interpret use of English as a reference to worldliness, regardless of what the Youtuber intended.

4.1.4 Summary

Youtube is a useful site for the assertion, contestation, and reevaluation of language ideologies. In the “Moroccan Tag” users scale “broken” heritage speaker language as appropriate within the context of their videos, as well as situating Darija, a stigmatized language variety, as appropriate. The signifying value of Darija in the Moroccan context is challenged to fit the “Moroccan Tag,” when heritage speakers use it as a means of claiming cultural identity. The public nature of Youtube videos motivates the user to speak in Darija, a language that clearly indexes cultural heritage, despite the fact that the majority of the translingual Youtubers studied are not “balanced” bilinguals and often comment on their use (and “misuse”) of the language. Viewers, too, comment on this language use, affirming ideology and complicating video discourse in the comments section. The use of subtitles is also a tool used in the regimentation of ideologies. Comments on subtitles by viewers, as well as contrasts between what is spoken and what is expressed in subtitles thicken discourse and create further in-group distinction. Agha (2005) explains that qualities of speech come to stand for an entire language or a social category of

speaker (i.e. enregistrement). Here, expressing both explicit and implicit language ideologies comes to represent national identity -- both the social and linguistic evaluations of interlocutors has broader implications for the construction of identity within a community of practice.

4.2 Performance of the "Authentic Self"

When we interact with an individual or community of people, we are constructing a persona that functions in a particular way for a particular audience. In everyday, face-to-face interactions, we perform these personas as a means of showcasing our social identities. Goffman (1959) posits that it is strategic performance in everyday life that creates the "self"-- that is, through a repertoire of performative acts that are specific to a certain geography and social setting, we construct chosen personas to showcase what we deem to be our salient social identities. In all interactions, there is an interchangeable actor and audience-- however, these roles are not homogenous. In his work *Frame Analysis* Goffman (1974) distinguishes between different types of speakers (actors). He explains that the "Principal" is responsible for what is said, the "Animator" enacts the utterance (and may also be the Principal), and the "Figure" is the "self" projected into the audience's imagination as a result of enacted performance. In one moment, the Figure may be performing their "self," character, or persona, and in another, they may switch to the role of audience member, interpreting the Figure of another. Later, in *Footing* (1981) Goffman attempts to deconstruct "global folk categories" (like the homogenous, binary "speaker" and "hearer") into "smaller, analytically coherent elements" (129). For example, he describes the significant relationship between the speaker, addressed recipient and unaddressed recipient, showing that talk is not dyadic, and that multiple recipients affect communication. Multiple recipients also effect acts of identification and the way speakers guide their audience into believing a constructed image of themselves in an attempt to to manage the impressions others have of them. Duffy (2005) elaborates on the act of identification, referencing the "subject" in place of the "speaker:"

> "Identification is an enacted fantasy in which the subject attempts to create a coherent, whole self where its internal core is expressed through the external body. The assertion of this coherent self is produced through words, acts and gestures, so the body does not confer identity on to the subject, rather, identity is attributed to the subject through signifying practices that create identity" (680).

Many performative aspects of social identity (such as race, class, gender, etc., which are often as qually embodied as they are performed) are validated through the interactions between people. Both Duffy (2005)'s conception of identification and Goffman's work on the "speaker" and "hearer" are applicable to social media. While Goffman focuses primarily on in-person interactions between people, virtual interactions between interlocutors are equally as rich, and are often performative, whether or not a physical audience is present. Papacharissi (2010) calls this type of "self" or "identification" the "networked self," a performed identity which becomes realized through online community and digital technologies. On Youtube, the "networked self" is represented through social interaction between web-users as the Figure, but also through individual performance as the Principal and Animator (Goffman 1974). Youtubers often perform their videos individually or with a partner, speaking through a camera to their imagined audience. If Goffman (1959) likens everyday social interactions to interactions between actors on a stage, he would likely compare the performance of the "networked self" on Youtube videos to the performance of stand up comedians or monologue actors, whose recipients (both intentional and not) are able to take up complex roles in participating with the performance (video).

Richard Bauman (2003: 9) defines performance as "a mode of communicative display, in which the performer signals to the audience, in effect, "hey, look at me! I'm on! Watch how skillfully and effectively I express myself" In this sense, performance relies heavily on the responsibility to an audience in order to express oneself. Considering Duffy's (2005) definition of identification, the ability to create a "coherent, whole self" is reliant on the existence of an an audience, or at least an imagined audience, to

whom a subject may express identification. Identity is not objective or inherent, and cannot come to exist without its social context. On Youtube, users have the ability to guide their viewers into understanding a desired persona, highlighting particular aspects of identity within its social context. They are able to create videos discussing topics ranging from their personal life and hobbies to their religious views and ethnic background. All the while, they offer viewers with pieces to their "social identity puzzle"-- for example, a Youtuber with a video about knitting and another about practicing Christianity, both performed in what is likely to be taken by many as Standard American English, offers viewers a portrait of their social identity as an American Christian who enjoys knitting. Mendoza-Denton and Dana Osborne (2013) offer a framework for understanding the way language indexes identity, stating that "language X indexes an identity as an X-er, whereas the identity of a y-er is achieved by speaking Y-ish" (116). This same indexical process can be applied to aspects of video content together with language. Video content, in tandem with a Youtuber's profile, the comments they make on other's videos and links to their other social media profiles (Snapchat, Instagram, Facebook etc.) lead an audience to indexically understand a Youtuber's coherent identity, lifestyle or social scene whether or not the Youtuber chooses to showcase their "whole self" (Duffy 2005: 680).

In this section, I bring to light the methods by which my five case studies present their "authentic selves," not only as "authentic Moroccans" but also as "authentic Youtubers." I uncover the ways national identity is validated through cultural nostalgia (Bucholtz 2003) within individual performance ("hey, look at me!), but also how interaction with an audience plays an equal part in the assertion of identity. I then explore the role "insider knowledge," plays in production of the "authentic self.". Lastly, I briefly analyze the ways Youtubers utilize certain semiotic resources to perform "non-performance," that is, to seem unscripted and "off-the cuff."

4.2.1 Cultural Nostalgia and Authenticity

Those enacting sociolinguistic nostalgia, position the most "real" or "genuine" language in an isolated, well-defined form separate from both time and space (Bucholtz 2003). This notion of authenticity de-legitimizes language that evolves and melds with outside influence, and is therefore, an imagined authenticity-- it cannot exist, for language cannot exist in the absence of its embodied context. Language is constantly evolving and melding with outside influence, despite a nostalgia that posits otherwise. Because identity is performed, and because nostalgic authenticity is "an implicit theory of identity" (Bucholtz 2003: 398) nostalgia can play a role in the performance of identity. I draw from Buchholtz's observations to define cultural nostalgia as an ideology that positions the most "real" or "genuine" culture separate from urban modernity or transnational influence. While Bucholtz (2003) writes of sociolinguistic nostalgia primarily in reference to the pitfalls of sociolinguistic research (that positions linguists as the arbiter of authenticity) in my observations, cultural nostalgia is self-perpetuated within the discourse of the Youtubers being studied (for examples of literature that looks at how people, not just scholars, subscribe to such an ideology see: Abdelhady 2007, Hoffman 2008, Maghbouleh 2010, Graber 2017).

First, I will outline the ideology I have labeled as "*cultural change as cultural loss."* This ideology presumes that when culture changes, evolves, or is influenced by outside forces, it is either a) lost or b) less authentic. An example of *cultural change as cultural loss* is outlined in Hoffman's (2008) ethnography of Berber Morocco. She explains that the influence of modernity in the speech and practices of Berber women is seen by many, especially Berber men, as cultural loss, because Berber women are assigned the social task of preserving both the culture and language of Berber Morocco. This ideology perpetuates the illiteracy of Berber women that "is understood to guarantee the maintenance of an ancestral language" thus compromising their human rights (Hoffman 2008: 77). In this example, it is clear

that *cultural change as cultural loss* can perpetuate social systems of oppression, especially when cultural loss is coded as negative.

Bucholtz (2003: 408) challenges the concept of *cultural change as cultural loss* by differentiating between "authenticity" that presupposes identity to be primordial, and "authentication" that views identity as the "outcome of constantly negotiated social practices." In her alternative model, "authentication" is the process by which certain aspects of culture and language are constructed as "authentic." She states: "This perspective does not deny the cultural force of authenticity as an ideology, but emphasizes that authenticity is always achieved rather than given in social life." Below, I will showcase how Youtubers undergo processes of "authentication" to claim "authenticy."

Users AD SISTERS and Lou Derq both showcase the ideology of *cultural change as cultural loss* in opposite ways. First, the AD SISTERS paint Morocco as a "country that stays the same." This sameness, they assert, is part of the country's "charm." Lou Derq, on the other hand, presents Morocco as a country that has in fact changed through the influence of modernity, which she claims is leading to the loss of a culture that "our ancestors passed down to us."

Example 1: AD SISTERS

AD SISTERS	Dounia: Morocco, *it's a country that stays the same,* it doesn't change, *and that's the charm* of it, when we go, *it's the same thing we left behind the year before*, *or the year before that*, do you understand what I'm trying to say or no?

8:09; In response to: "What does Morocco mean to you?"

Example 2: Lou Derq

Lou Derq	*It has changed a lot,* Morocco, *I go with all my family every year,* and it's true that it's changed, *and little by little,* well, actually I don't go every year, but every other year, *I don't know*, *every three or four years,* but I see the *change* every year there are *different things,* Marrakech grew a lot, I remember there was nothing, now there are *malls,* In Casa, there weren't *malls. What I'm trying to say is that* Morocco has changed, *and so I don't think there's anything to change or keep* [about Morocco] *because we are currently, in Morocco, loosing this culture that our ancestors passed down to us. And every year I go to Morocco I realize the new generation is a little bit "*space" *I don't want to criticize, but there are a lot of young Moroccans, unfortunately, that think they are in the United States, that forget that this country is religious, that its a respectable country, we are tolerant of course, but you have to also respect* [the culture]...

12:20;In response to: "What would you change/keep the same about Morocco?"

When AD SISTER Youtuber, Dounia, uses a rhetorical question to mark the end of her utterance ("do you understand what I'm trying to say or no?") she is involving an audience-- she is asking for external validation in her idea that Morocco has not changed. This display of affinity to the "unchanged Morocco" as a collective sentiment between Dounia and her audience members reveals her ideology that "lack of change" is a marker of the "authentic" Morocco, i.e. a Morocco that has not experienced culture loss. Transitively, by acknowledging this ideology as truth, Dounia positions herself as an authentic Moroccan.

Lou Derq asserts the opposite, yet is still of the mind that *culture change leads to culture loss*-- she highlights the occurrence of malls in Moroccan cities as marker of cultural change, as well as what she calls the "space"-iness of Moroccan youth. This is reminiscent of McIntosh (2010), who explores how youth in Kenya use English in text messages as a means of portraying a modern, cosmopolitan persona. The use of English, a language that indexes globalization and worldliness, in orthographic practice becomes a a means for "young people on the margins to "perform their inclusion in a global flow while anxiously trying to establish their entitlement to participate in it" (McIntosh 2010: 339). Ironically, while Lou Derq is performing her own worldliness and showcasing her dexterity with language by inserting an English loan word into her speech, she is, at the same time, also implying that Moroccan youth who "think they are in the United States" are the cause of *cultural change as cultural loss*. By stating that Moroccan youth "think they are in the United States" Lou Derq is likely indexically linking the United States to non-religiousness, non-respectability and presumably, modernity ("they forget that this country is religious, that its a respectable country, we are tolerant of course, but you have to also respect [the culture]"*)*. When she labels Moroccan culture as "our" culture, she may be imposing a secularist definition of national unity, claiming authentic Moroccan culture to be unified, and un-authentic Moroccan culture to be the result of culture loss found within the practices of the "space"-y Moroccan youth. This is an implicit sentiment, that all the same indexically links "space"-y Moroccan youth to

unauthentic Moroccan culture. Based on her discourse, it seems Lou Derq is asserting that authentic Moroccan culture is linked to religiousness and respectability and lack of change, while un-authentic culture is deterritorializing, linking to the United States rather than Morocco. She positions "space-y" youth as not being willing to conform to Moroccan sensibilities, and in doing so distances herself from them, re-territorializing herself as an authentic Moroccan.

Stewart (1988) argues that nostalgia is an important part of defining culture for those in diaspora, and is highly emotional: "in positioning a "once was" in relation to a "now" it creates a frame for meaning, a means of dramatizing aspects of an increasingly fluid and unnamed social life" (227). Social actors dramatize when they want something to stand out or to be acknowledged as important. *Cultural change as cultural loss* is dramatic in its nostalgia, but this is because it is backed with some level of emotion. Joseph (2004: 76) reminds us that "emotional significance is not some trivial part of identity belonging but an integral part of it." By the same token, dramatization that happens within acts of authentication (Bucholtz 2003) should not be seen as insignificant, for it can in fact reveal how subjects position themselves in relation to what they see as "authentic culture." By dramatization, I refer to the ways interlocutors may essentialize or exaggerate an opinion for the sake of getting their opinion across to an audience. In Lou Derq's case, it may be useful to note that she quits speaking in Darija towards the beginning of her utterance and concludes in French. Koven (2006) posits that the experience of multilingualism extends the culturally informed nature of emotion, and that "the same devices that index affect may also index social identity and interpersonal rapport" (86). It is ironic that Lou Derq concludes her possibly emotional sentiment that "Morocco is changing" by speaking in French, a language indexical of industrialization and change in Morocco.

The discrepancy between these Youtubers (Lou Derq and the AD SISTERS) in constructing Morocco as a country that does not change or as a country that is undergoing change speaks to how ideological disjuncture (Meek 2010) does not need to compromise an overarching sentiment, in this case,

the theme of what is/isn't an authentic Morocco. These Youtubers hold an image of Morocco in their mind's eyes that is located in either a past (for Lou Derq) or an unchanging present (for the AD SISTERS), where, regardless, *cultural change* is constructed *as cultural loss.*

4.2.2 Material Nostalgia and Authenticity

The next ideology I will outline is *the local as the authentic.* More specifically, I will outline *material representations as a marker of identity,* beginning first with *food as a marker of identity* . This ideology is a derivative of cultural nostalgia, and has been termed "culinary nostalgia" by Mannur (2007). She explains that culinary narratives are linked to imagined returns to the "homeland" and that to an immigrant subject, distanced geographically and temporally from said "homeland," food becomes "both an intellectual and emotional anchor" (Mannur 2007: 11). That is, food that "authentically" represents the homeland signifies not only ethnic identity, but a rootedness in that identity. Mannur elaborates, stating that culinary nostalgia becomes a way to claim "culinary citizenship," i.e. "a form of affective citizenship which grants subjects the ability to claim and inhabit certain subject positions via their relationship to food "(13). Food is integral to the human experience, and therefore food that is local to a particular community is all the more significant in making membership claims to that community. In the case of the "Moroccan Tag" videos, inhabiting certain subject positions in relation to food manifests in performing the "authentic" Moroccan self. Having a stance on food that is representative of what Youtubers label as "Moroccan culture" allows them to guide their audience into perceiving them as a viable person within their social sphere, one that knows enough about their origins to have an opinion about something as integral as food. Even a negative stance on food asserts some sort of intimate knowledge about the culture-- one must have at least tried significant food "x" in order to dislike it. When Youtubers express discourse about food as a means of contouring ideal culture, they put aside other types of food that are "inauthentic" or do not symbolize identity. *Food as identity* is a discursively-mediated way Youtubers epitomize "the local" with "the authentic" through material representation.

Of the 29 questions posed between the 5 Youtubers, 5 of the questions asked explicitly about food (see section 4 figure 2) However, food was referenced even in questions where it was not definitively addressed. First, I will discuss a response to a question in which food was explicitly addressed.

Example 1: AD SISTERS

AD SISTERS	Assia: I don't like Moroccan cookies at all, I don't like their taste. Dounia: Me, [oooff] I lovvvvveee cookies with almonds. *Oh lalalal*a I want to eat them right now! Cookies with almonds... [Assia makes disgruntled face at camera, at sister, then back at camera]

1:08; In response to question: "Do you like Moroccan cookies with or without almonds?"

Figure 4: Assia makes disgruntled face at camera, at sister, then back at camera

In this example, Assia and Dounia are using multimodal communication to validate their stance for or against Moroccan almond cookies, at the same time discursively guiding their audience into understanding their identity as Moroccans. Almond cookies are common Moroccan pastries, and thus index Morocco and Moroccan culture. When Assia states that she does not like "Moroccan cookies at all" she utters a synecdoche, using a part of culinary culture, i.e. almond cookies, to represent a whole, i.e. Moroccan cookies in general. This showcases not only her cultural knowledge, but also may validate her

position as a Moroccan. Assia is confident enough to express a negative opinion towards a cookie that is so seemingly integral to Moroccan cuisine, it can represent *all* Moroccan cookies.

Dounia, on the other hand "looooovve"s Moroccan cookies, expressing that she "wants to eat them right now." As she utters this statement, her sister turns and looks at her, making a disgruntled face. By Goffman's (1959) model, within human interaction, interlocutors may *give* expressions through conscious, intentional signaling and *give off* expressions, through the performance of unintentional cues through verbal and non-verbal modes, where those cues may translated by an audience as meaningful. Here, Assia is giving expression to her sister first, and then, when her sister doesn't acknowledge her silly facial expression, to her audience. This creates an imagined intimacy between Assia and her audience, as though they, too, agree with her stance that Moroccan cookies do not taste good. To an audience member, Assia *gives* the impression that she really doesn't like Moroccan cookies, and that she is shocked her sister likes them so much. Regardless of stance towards Moroccan cookies, "culinary nostalgia" is the driving force behind this question, linking membership to a Moroccan in-group with cookies of cultural significance.

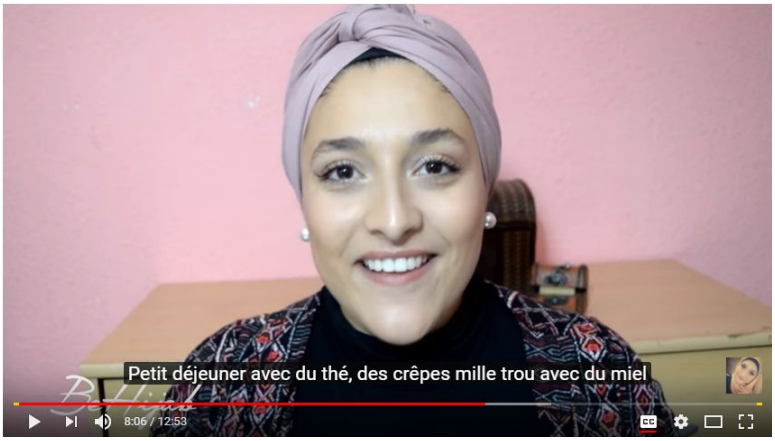
For user BEHIJAB, however, "authentic food" has less to do with the origins of the food itself, and more to do with the place in which the food was consumed and the memory affiliated with it. She asserts:

Example 2: BEHIJAB

BEHIJAB	We wake up around 9am, we eat our breakfast with tea, with pancakes filled with honey. We watch TV on the channel *"Fox"* where they play films in English with Arabic subtitles, we get our bags ready, go get *ice cream*, we go to the store and get *sandwiches*, bocadillos, those sandwiches where you get to choose what's inside of them, we call them bocadillos in Tetouan. Then we buy chips, cookies, juice. Then we go to the beach until 5pm, then we return home to shower, when I'm ready I go to the living room and see everyone watching FOX, watching the movie that starts at 5:20 while we wait for everyone else to get ready. When everyone is ready we go out to the Medina to walk around, we eat, Polo, I don't know what the *ice cream* is called, in Tetouan we call "Polo," then we walk around and eat it go to a restaurant called M'fedal.

8:02: In response to, "What is a typical day in Morocco?"

Figure 5: “We eat breakfast with tea, with pancakes filled with honey”



BEHJAB continues to talk about food past the excerpt I have chosen to outline, discussing the food she and her family would order at the restaurant M’Fedal, and the food they would eat after returning from the restaurant in the evening. It is clear that, to BEHIJAB, food is an important part of “a typical day” in Morocco. While not all the foods BEHIJAB references are explicitly indexical of Moroccan cuisine, they are still included in her own personal “culinary nostalgia.” First, she references breakfast with tea and pancakes with honey. Tea is an important marker of Moroccan culinary tradition, and mint tea specifically is highly symbolic of Moroccan culture-- this is why, for both the AD SISTERS and Just Ihsanne, one of the “Moroccan Tag” questions explicitly asks: “How many cups of tea do you drink a day, with or without mint?” This question presumes that if you are Moroccan you drink tea; the question is not *if* you drink tea, but rather *how many cups* you drink. “Beghrir,” or pancakes full of tiny holes filled with honey, are also a traditional Moroccan breakfast food. Interestingly, in her subtitles, BEHIJAB describes them as “crepes,” although this may be because the lone word “pancake” is not particularly used in French.

Of further interest is her description of “bocadillos” being integral to a typical day in Morocco. The word bocadillo is a lone word from Spanish, and while Moroccan bocadillos differ in ingredients from those in Spain (a Moroccan bocadillo contains tuna, eggs, onion, tomatoes and potatoes, while a

Spanish bocadillo refers to any sort of baguette-style sandswitch filled with meat, cheese, omelet or tuna) they are still not native to Morocco. BEHIJAB makes an important point by including "bocadillos" into her culinary nostalgia: authenticity is not absolute, and the conception of "authentic" food can shift with outside influence. A Moroccan bocadillo is authentic within its context, just as a Spanish bocadillo would not be authentic within BEHIJAB's narrative, despite being the "original" bocadillo. Mannur (2007) references Sen (2005), who notes immigrant's use of the "correct" words for foods. She explains that, in the case of Indian immigrants in English speaking countries, words, such as food terms, could easily adhere to the dominant language, but immigrants still choose to use the "correct" word instead. Sen (2005: 195) gives the example of "the use of '"baigan' or "geera"' by Indian immigrants," which "could have easily been written as 'eggplant' or 'cumin' without sacrificing the meaning. But . . . the 'baigan' and 'geera' are far more evocative than 'eggplant' or 'cumin' because they are fossil sounds bearing the impression of over a century-old Indo-Caribbean presence." Here, use of "bocadillo" instead of "sandwich" evokes a particular type of sandwich indexical of Morocco, but more specifically, Tetouan, BEHIJAB's city of origin ("we call them bocadillos in Tetouan"). She also mentions a specific type of ice cream she and her family eat in Tetouan, "Polo," which too evokes a more nostalgic, personal memory than "ice cream" would. Here, again, what is "local" is "authentic," whether or not it is "original." Presentation of cultural nostalgia, and more importantly, of the knowledge that one has to be an arbiter of authenticity, is a performance of self.

Youtuber Just Ihssane, too, expresses *the local as the authentic* through material representation in discussing her bathing rituals. She states:

Example 3: Just Ihssane

Just Ihssane	Morocco is my country. For example, when I'm at school, *at university,* people ask me if I feel more Moroccan or French, and I tell them I really feel more Moroccan. They ask me why, you grew up here, your family is here, you have *the culture* of France, why do you feel Moroccan? And I respond, very quickly, about why I feel Moroccan over French, because when I go to Morocco, it's like I am at home. Morocco is… bleughh.. *A country…* ugh, the phrase is on the tip of my tongue, it doesn't want to leave my head, I don't know why. Well, for example, when I take a shower, do you think I use *the shower head the shower sponge?*

	me, I take a bucket, a cup of water, I take the bath glove you use in Morocco, the one you get for 5 dirhams, I wash my hair, I call my mom to scrub my back, just like in Morocco.

5:20 In response to: What does Morocco mean to you?

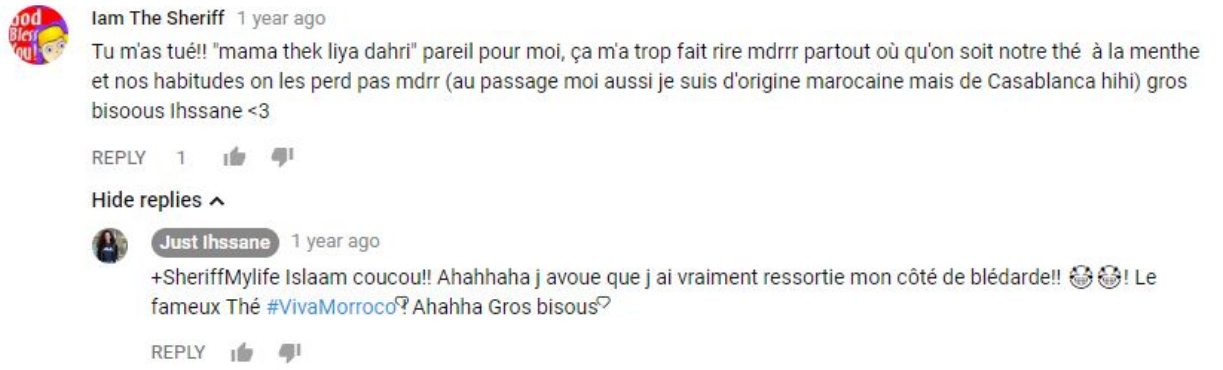
She first asserts that she feels more Moroccan than French, because when she goes to Morocco, it is though she is at home. "Home" is perhaps the most "local" of geographies, because it is intimately tied to one's perception of self; "home" is not just about where one resides, but where one feels like they belong. Therefore, in this example, Morocco, is conceived of as "the local." To be authentically Moroccan, or to "feel more Moroccan than French" as Just Ihssane puts it, may be to partake in local practices, such as using a bucket in the shower, using a Moroccan bath glove and having your mother help you scrub your back. These bathing practices are not necessarily situated in a nostalgic past, but are certainly another form of nostalgia in which *the local* is conceived of as *the authentic.* Just Ihssane uses translanguage that further enforces this ideology, switching from Darija into French when she utters "the shower head" and "the shower sponge," two items she does not use in her bathing ritual (because she feels more Moroccan than French, and it is the French who use "the shower head" and "sponge."). Certainly, there are Moroccans who use both a shower head and shower sponge to bathe, and in this way, Just Ihssane may be attempting to distance "authentic" Moroccan practices from modernity, transitively linking them to a nostalgic past. The performed switch between languages may comes off to her audience as meaningful, for she may be using language to index a certain sense of "self:" the Moroccan "self" rather than the French "self" (despite the fact that many Moroccans out of diaspora use French as well!). Additionally, the register she uses when saying "shower head" and "sponge" gives off an air of mockery and sarcasm, which may further distances herself from her French identity, making her Moroccan identity all the more relevant. Koven (2007) argues that bilingual's sense of self is highly linked to the ways they choose to layer and switch between languages. She states:

> "As people layer their speech with a variety of indexes of identity from a range of registers within and across languages, a sense of a "self" is made palpably, experientially

> real in the interactional here-and-now. This experience of inhabiting socially recognizable identities in discourse may feel integral to a speaker's experience of "self." (32)

Inhabiting socially recognizable identities may also feel integral to an audience's interpretation of a speaker's "self." This can be seen in a comment responding to Just Ihssane's bathing practices. Just Ihssane poses a question to her audience when she asks "do you think I use the shower head, the shower sponge?" This question brings her virtual audience into the conversation, explicitly guiding them into understanding her identity as an authentic Moroccan who participates in local practices, despite being born, raised, and attending university in France. The understanding of local knowledge serves as an ingroup marker between Just Ihssane and her Youtube audience. For example, in the comments of her video, user "Iam the Sheriff" respond to Just Ihssane's bathing practices, stating:

Example 4: Just Ihssane Comment: Mom scrubs my back



Translation: **IamSheriff:** *You killed me!! "*<u>mom scrubs my back</u>*" same for me, that made me laugh so much lolll no matter where we are we never lose our mint tea and our traditions lol (I am also Moroccan but from Casablanca hehe) big kisses Ihssane <3*
Just Ihssane: *Hello! Ahahahaha I admit I really let out my "home-country self." The famous tea #LongliveMorocco Ahahaha big kisses*

Iam The Sheriff references both mint tea and the act of their mother scrubbing their backs in her comments, stating "no matter where we are we never lose our traditions." By quoting Just Ihssane in Arabic instead of in French, Iam The Sheriff is acknowledging Just Ihssane's chosen language use, and thus may be validating the way she choices to voice and assert her "self" (Koven 2007). Iam The Sheriff then states: "I am also Moroccan but from Casablanca hihi" -- this may mean that Iam The Sheriff's city

of origin is Casablanca, or that Iam The Sheriff currently reside there, however, the sentiment remains the same: the performance of national identity is highly reliant on authenticated material representations of culture. Just Ihssane reduplicates Iam Sheriff's sentiment by stating: "the famous tea," bringing the conversation back to consumption of material culture.

Just Ihssane then refers to her "home-country self," using the word "*bléd,"* an Arabic word originating in Algeria during the colonial period meaning "country," "region" or "village" that has been borrowed into French. This borrowing is pejorative, referencing the home country of North African immigrants in France, but has been reclaimed by younger generations as a slang term. Tetreault (2015) analyzes this term and its use amongst Algerian teenagers in France, explaining that "the most consistent way that French teens of immigrant descent employ le bled is to discursively configure racialized "otherness," whether on the part of themselves, their peers, or their parents" (80). Within the context of diasporic France, *bled* may be used as a concept to create an oppositional stance against Frenchness and assert commonality to those who are similarly on the margins. *Blétard* is someone from the *bléd,* but might be translated to "hillbilly" or "country bumpkin." This is also a reclaimed pejorative word, but is used with affection by North Africans. Just Ihssane's use of the word *blétard* in reference to herself further authenticates her place as a young, diasporic Moroccan.

Through performed affinity to material culture, Youtubers are able to reveal their "côté de blétard," while simultaneously showcasing their ambivalences between modernity and tradition.

4.2.3 Music and Authenticity

As we have seen, nostalgia manifests both inwardly and outwardly in the "selves" of second generation immigrants. Through ideologies surrounding a nostalgic past and and a mental localization that occurs throughout the consumption of material goods, these young people in diaspora assert their authentic place within their cultural community. Processes of localisation often link back to affinities with material culture, but can also occur through the consumption of other cultural goods that do not

necessarily exist in a physical form, such as music and television. The consumption of music as a cultural good is particularly salient to my case studies. Figure 6 below showcases the four questions asked amongst the "Moroccan tag" Youtubers that explicitly regard music:

Figure 6: Moroccan Tag Questions about Music

Question	**Youtuber**
What song reminds you of Morocco?	BEHIJAB
Do you like Moroccan music?	Hasna B
Who is your favorite Moroccan musician?	BEHIJAB, Just Ihssane, AD SISTERS, Lou Derq, Hasna B
What is your favorite Moroccan song?	BEHIJAB, Just Ihssane, AD SISTERS, Lou Derq
Who are the most famous people from your country?	Hasna B

Consuming music from the home country is a tangible way for those in diaspora to cross spatial boundaries and localize themselves. Maghbouleh (2010) studies this phenomenon in regards to second generation Iranian American college students, who use pre-revolution Iranian pop music as a means of preserving an affinity to a home country many of them have never visited. Maghbouleh explains: "music has a utility in the real lives of listeners that may begin at the auditory level yet resonates most clearly at the level of identity and nostalgia" (211). All five of my case studies prove this to be true. While they choose a variety of music to present to their audience, from modern tunes to more traditional *rai* music, music serves as a salient ingroup marker. Below, I present pieces of discourse from each of the videos regarding music:

Example 1: Hasna B

Hasna B	Hasna: *She said that she prefers Berber music…* Cousin: And Sala! Hasna: *No, Moroccan music!*

8:58; In response to: Do you like Moroccan music?

Example 2: Just Ihssane

Just Ihssane	I dont remember the name… Oh, its that one that goes "Habbibi I love you, I need you"

	Ahmed Chawki, I like him a lot, I don't know why.

4:44; In response to: What is your favorite Moroccan song?

Example 3: Lou Derq

Lou Derq	*Recently I've like the song that goes "*you are the boss"

6:10; In response to: What is your favorite Moroccan song?

Example 4, 5: AD SISTERS

AD SISTERS	Aissa: I like Saad Lamjarred, I like the song "Cravata" Both: This is the new song from Cravata sta-ta-ta-ta

4:36; In response to: What is your favorite Moroccan song?

AD SISTERS	Aissa: The music...When it's just Dounia and me, in France we don't listen to Moroccan music, or at least not very much.

7:24; In response to: What does Morocco mean to you?

Example 6: BEHIJAB

BEHIJAB	I like the group Cravata or Barbapapa… [sings] "*barbapapa its my papa"*.. I don't know if you understand, hold on, I'll play some for you.

7:24; In response to: Who is your favorite Moroccan musician?

Within many of the songs chosen by these Youtubers, there is a clear meld of languages. This is conventional of Moroccan music, and in-fact, the frequent switch between and and within utterances (in French, Arabic and Berber) within Moroccan music is a very clear in-group marker (Bentahila & Davies 2002). This parallels acts of translanguaging that occur in the the day-to-day life of Moroccans, although with greater intention. This is to say, Moroccan artists are calculating about the ways they integrate code-switching into their lyrics: for example, the verse of a song (the less "catchy" segment) is often primarily in Arabic, while the chorus utilizes more French, or even English. This we see in BEHIJAB's song choice, "barbapapa," where the chorus, "barabapapa c'est mon papa" is in French, while the rest of the song is in Darija. The integration of English within Moroccan music is also common, and may stem from an effort to internationalize music, thus making it more consumable to an outside audience (Bentahila & Davies 2002). The AD SISTER's song choice, of "Cravatta," a parody of a song by Saad Lamjarred, and Just Ihssane's song choice, of "Habibi I Love You," by Ahmed Chawki ft. Pitbull, displays this, as the chorus of both songs are in English. By using more than one language within a song,

a transnational effect is achieved, which conveys "both an in group solidarity tone and a more global international flavour without sacrificing one to the other" (Bentahila & Davis 2002: 204). Here, Youtubers use music as a means of expressing and authenticating their cultural identity, while also expressing their worldliness.

Youtuber Lou Derq uses the multimodal ecology of Youtube to her advantage in expressing her favorite musician and song. The song she chooses as her favorite, "LM3ALLEM" by Saad Lamjarred, is completely in Darija, yet the music video displays modern themes[13]. Within the video clip Lou Derq chooses to include, Saad sits with an old woman who is using an old fashioned sewing machine, while wearing modern sunglasses. Behind them, women dance wearing traditional Moroccan djellabas, also supporting the same, modern sunglasses (see Figure 7). By choosing this song, Lou Derq is seemingly asserting herself as a modern Moroccan who is up to date with new songs.

Figure 7: Clip from "LM3ALLEM" by Saad Lamjarred

Later, she presents Saad Lamjarred as her favorite Moroccan musician, but stumbles on his name and is uncertain if she will be understood by her audience. She then inserts a picture of the musician in the corner of her screen which may help her further assert that she does in fact know what she is talking about, and is thus can rightfully claim her identity as a Moroccan (see Figure 8 below).

[13] 3arabisi, and indexer of modernity, is also used in the title!

Figure 8: Lu Derq, picture of Saad Lamjarred and translation

Lou Derq	Saad Lamjarred...if you don't understand me I'm going to insert a picture so you understand.

6:52; In response to: Who is your favorite musician?

Another video by Lu Derq, which often appears on the side bar or her Moroccan Tag video, titled "ES-TU UN(E) VRAI(E) MAROCAIN(E) | PLAYLIST" ("Are you a real Moroccan? | Playlist") (see Figure 9) suggests that in order to be authentically Moroccan, you must know enough Moroccan music to create a playlist. In her work on a subsection of the Philippine elite and their perception of "real'" eliteness Reyes (2017: 102) makes an important note: "things only become fake when they are metapragmatically formulated as such and when those formulations are taken up and circulate across events and social domains." Lou Derq's assertion that knowing a certain number of Moroccan songs (enough to make a playlist) makes one a "real" Moroccan implies that she must have some metapragmatic understand of who is a "fake Moroccan"-- inauthenticity must be authenticated too! Lou Derq's knowledge of music becomes a sign of unfakeable Moroccanness only when the resulting Figure aligns with her stance as an Animator (Goffman 1974), that is, when what she conveys is read by the audience as true. Ultimately, as with all my case studies acts of authentication must be enacted by the speaker but must also be interpreted as such by the recievers.

Figure 9: Are you a real Moroccan?

4.2.4 The "Authentic" Youtuber

Jannis Androutsopoulos (2001) argues that speech in media is inevitably stylized. She derives her definition of *styling* from Selting & Hinnenkamp (1989) and states that "styling means presenting oneself as a subsumed instance of a social type, using for this purpose linguistic as well as other semiotic means" (Androutsopoulos 2001: 4). In other words, the stylized "self" is a partial "self" that is selectively revealed to an audience. Returning to Goffman's (1959) "presentation of self" framework, we might conceived of the "stylized self" as a "front stage" performance, while the authentic, unstylized self resides "backstage." (Goffman 1959). In this section, I argue that, within Youtube, there exists a stylized version of the "self" that seeks to appear to give off *a lack* of stylization. This, I call the "natural" self. In her discussion of "Türkendeutsch," a mediated version of non-native German, Androutsopoulos (2001: 9) states that mediatized speech "can never mirror the wide variation range encountered in real life." The "natural" self, however, attempts to mirror the range of speech and behaviors encountered in real life for the purpose of credibility--Youtubers perform non-performance to seem authentic within the social norms of their community. The ways Youtubers signal to their imagined audience through performance affects their reliability as internet performers (Papacharissi 2009). These performances are a way of giving off "face," or maintaining a specific version of the self. Here, face can be understood as "a potentially infinite cycle of concealment, discovery, false revelation and rediscovery" (Goffman 1959:13) that Youtubers

choose to maintain in the most "natural" way possible, to adhere to the social norms of their online community.

McIntosh (2010: 343) references the concept of condensed language use in text messages as an index of "being in a hurry." However, she explains that this purported rushedness may in fact be less about time and more about performing one's "legitimacy as a participant" in time compression, or as a way to index being "up to date" in a cosmopolitan world. I argue that Youtubers, too, assert their legitimacy within the Youtube community by selectively editing their video footage to remain imperfect. Below, I outline two ways Youtubers remain authentic in their content creation: 1) by video editing that allows for "bloopers," and 2) by including the imagined audience in discourse.

By editing videos in a way that allows for "bloopers," i.e. mistakes made on camera, Youtubers are allowing their audience to get a glimpse of their informal selves, adding to a performed "natural-ness." The blase editing of videos avoids perceptions of "inauthentic" or "forced" depictions of belonging, which in turn actually portrays authenticity. For example, in the transcription below, Just Ihssane stumbles over her speech, stating that "the words won't leave my head." She could have very well edited this portion of the video, but she choose to keep it-- perhaps this adds to her persona as a relatable Youtuber.

Example 1: Just Ihssane

Just Ihsanne	5:49 Morocco is a…. uh.. [snaps] ahhhhh a *country* [taps head] *I can't say it, the words won't leave my head.*

5:49; In response to: What does Morocco mean to you?

Youtubers also use their surrounding to perform authenticity. For example, AD SISTER Dounia reads the "Moroccan Tag" questions off of her phone and drinks a beverage throughout the duration of the video, using every-day props to facilitate the audience's understanding of Dounia as an average, relatable Youtuber (see Figure 10) . Goffman (1959) urges that the 'setting' – that is, the 'furniture, décor, physical layout and other background items which supply the scenery and stage props' – presents the 'expressive

equipment', with which the individuals articulate the 'front stage', in contrast to the 'backstage', where a more authentic self resides. In opposition to this theory, Dounia presents an authentic, natural self through the use of every-day props in her video.

Figure 10: Dounia drinks from a container while reading questions off her phone.

By drawing upon available resources, Youtubers act a certain way in front of their audience, performing non-performance. This is not to say that moments of blatant performance do not exist within the Youtube videos, but rather, through a mix of explicit and implicit performance, Youtubers construct their authentic selves.

Youtube is a unique website for video media because it is without gatekeepers (Johnson 2013). Anyone can post a video, regardless of how profesional they want to portray themselves, or how talented they are at video editing. As a result Youtube (and other forms of social media) has "the power to reproduce any type of image, albeit oversimplified representations of identity through clocking and sharing videos, or more complex and intersectional narratives through personal blogging, website or twitter feeds" (Johnson 2013 : 117). Youtubers do not have to reproduce the image of professionalism as other video makers may need to, and in fact keeping it "natural" is appropriate within the ecology of Youtube. Lange (2007) and Papacharissi (2009 :201) refers to this as being "publicly private" or sharing private behaviors that exhibit a Youtuber's true identity, used to signal empathy, respect and inclusion among those within the Youtube community. Other "publically private" behaviors that Youtubers engage in are "breaking the third wall" or including the audience in discourse, as if the Youtube video was a

one-on-one interaction. This act not only constructions Youtubers as "off-the-cuff" but also facilitates the creation of imagined community. This will be discussed further in section 4.3.3.

4.2.5 Summary

Performing the networked "self" through the "Moroccan Tag" videos serves the purpose of integrating and proving membership into a national community. These Youtubers are asserting themselves as Moroccan, in ways mediated by a range of semiotic ideologies. They are also asserting their position within multiple communities of practice: within the Moroccan online community, the diasporic Moroccan online community, and the Youtube community in general. Youtube allows these users to perform their front stage "authentic selves" without the boundary of geography, but also without the boundary of interruption from an audience. Bendix (1997) sums up the relationship between authenticity and modernity in a way that rings true to my case studies. She states: "The quest for authenticity is a peculiar longing, at once modern and antimodern. It is oriented toward the recovery of an essence whose loss has been realized only through modernity, and whose recovery is possible only through methods and sentiments created in modernity" (8). This form of nostalgic transnationalism actively constructs a national identity across spatial and temporal boundaries.

4.3 Imagined Communities of Practice

A community of practice exists on the basis of shared social engagement (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1998); when interlocutors share communal goals and enact these goals in similar ways, a community is formed. But community building can also take place on the bases of shared social characteristics, such as social identity. When connections between individuals are asserted on the bases of shared social identity, we might call the resulting community an "imagined community" because it is presumed on the basis of shared social characteristics that are themselves constructed or "imagined," projected beyond face-to-face, collectively enacted experience. This term was first coined by Anderson (1991) and referred primarily to the way a "nation" is socially constructed by those who perceive

themselves to be a part of it-- Anderson's use of the phrase referenced the fact that the scale of such communities extends far past the possibility of face-to-face interaction and thus any sense of mutual belonging has to be imagined rather than directly experienced. However, his framework can be used to consider a variety of communities, even those that exist in multiple sites or apart from their country of origin.

Participatory media, and its tendency to encourage back-and-forth communication between interlocutors in disparate locations who may or may not know each other in real life, adds to the construction of imagined community, especially transnationally. This lack of face-to-face connection is resonant in Anderson's imagined communities, for he states: "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (1991: 6). In contrast to Anderson's model, shared collectivity between interlocutors on social media (who do not necessarily know everyone within their ingroup) has to do with *participation*, rather than a shared experience that exists within a collective imagination. This is in part because social medias, like Youtube, contain the scale of communities, allowing users to interact laterally rather than solely receive mass media through a one-way directionality, i.e. mass media down to the masses[14]. In addition, Orgad (2012) explains that media representations of individuals, groups and places help drive us into forming imagined communities where we feel we belong. I argue that media representations on Youtube further increase the drive to create community, because users can interact with those they feel represent them. Since anyone with a camera, internet access, and an idea is able to post a Youtube video, and anyone with internet access is able to comment on a Youtube video, the connections between interlocutors are more accessible, and the resulting social ties more personal. This back-and-forth is a form of social engagement, and so I find it prudent to blend "communities of practice"

[14] Although it is worth noting that Anderson's imagined communities do not consider lateral interaction even within communities as large as the nation-state-- from mass media to the masses is a fairly homogenous way to conceive of imagined communities!

with “imagined community,” i.e. “imagined communities of practice,” to more precisely explain the ways belonging is asserted online.

Anderson’s (1991) work is foundational to the discussion of imagined communities. Although there are many differences between his conception of imagined community and my own, Anderson’s framework is a useful scaffolding to begin analyzing the principal methods of community formation. Anderson (1991) explains that collective identities were first asserted on the basis of abstract notions of “nationality” pushed forth by national language as well as metropolitan newspapers, acts that extend beyond social engagement between people. This type of imagination is grounded in lived realities, such as the daily ritual of reading the paper over coffee, (“a substitute for morning prayers” (Anderson 1991: 39)) but is not necessarily linked to lived interactions amongst interlocutors. I assert that the notion of “nationality” may be further strengthened on the bases of geographic borders, but, because it is abstract, reliant on experiences that can be displaced from geography, it is not contingent on those borders-- in fact, the concept of national boundaries, i.e. physical place, in determining community is equally imagined. This is why the disruption of such a connection is plausible, and in fact, is enacted transnationally. In the following section, I will showcase how the disruption between physical place and community formation is enacted through Youtube videos, as second-generation Moroccans assert their belonging in multiple imagined communities of practice built on the basis of national identity.

It is important to note, however, that “nationality” is a broad term that contains many connecting points through which imagined communities of practice may be formed. Appadurai (1996: 33) explains that globalization triggers the creation of what he calls “imagined worlds,” i.e. “the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imagination of persons and groups spread around the globe.” These worlds may be thought of as subcategories of “nationality” and are determined by five dimensions of global cultural flow: ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes. Appadurai (1996) explains that the suffix “-scape” indicates that these dimensions of global flow are not

objective and are in fact very subjective, contingent on historical, linguistic and political context. This is to say, imagined communities of practice form because they envision some derivative of the same "-scape," whether it be through media, economy, ideology, etc. Through this framework, difference can be interrogated without compromising the sharedness of community or privileging either a global or local perspective. If physical space is not what contains a community, then it is instead these "-scapes" that connect interlocutors to one another, especially while deterritorialized. Based on the importance of these "-scapes," it is clear that the negotiation of imagined communities of practice is highly influenced by globalization, and that globalization is influenced by internet technologies (such as social medias). With the rise of globalization and transnational communication, it is clear that "community" does not have to be locally constrained, in fact, "people seem to need to imagine that they -- or others -- belong to a community: a set of people who share sociability, support, or a sense of identity...even when people are in a loosely bounded network" (Gruzd et al 2011: 1295). This is true of the second-generation French-Moroccan Youtubers I study.

By sharing not only the Youtube space and video format but also a similar sense of national identity, these second-generation immigrants are able to build community online. First, I discuss how users are able to collectively build identity through common linguistic and semiotic practices as well as through common discourse, or "public words," the common phrases and tropes which circulate across communities such as "proverbs, slogans, chiches and idiomatic expressions that are remembered and repeated and quoted long after their first utterance" (Spitulnik 1996: 166). Anderson (1991) finds that imagined communities rely heavily on temporality, or the idea that a community is moving in history together. I adapt this notion of temporality by discussing the chronotopic experience of Youtubers and their viewers of existing "there while here" (in Morocco while in France). Chronotopic acts, as outlined by Koven (2013: 544), are those that highly elaborate images of space, time, and person in order to situate speaker identity. I argue that a perception of shared chronotopic identities leads to the formulation of

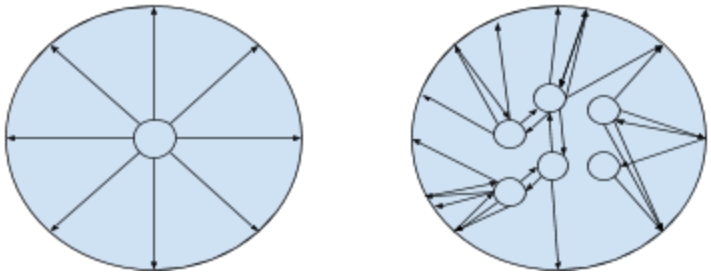
community. In my case studies, these acts are also scalar (Gal 2016) because they transposes local experiences to a global level online. Lastly, I discuss the role social (re)production has in forming *nodes of interaction*. I use this term to describe actors who exist at the junctions of their social web, where interaction amongst interlocutors is greatest. In this corpus, I focus on five *nodes of interaction*, the five Youtubers being studied. Anderson (1983:36) states that imagined communities happen when there is a decline of the belief that "society is naturally organized around "high centers," or monarchs that rule society in a top down fashion. Like "high centers," *nodes of interaction* are positioned to exist centrally within their respective Youtube spheres, yet instead of envisioning *nodes of interaction* as a single center point from which information is funneled down vertically (see Figure 11 A), we might instead envision them as multiple central points in a web, where back-and-forth participation from the web back to the center is possible and frequent (see Figure 11 B). I explain how participatory media is an equalizer that allows all interactants to communicate with video creators, which thus decentralizes the nodes of interaction within the imagination of common users. I concieve of common users to be those who have less online clout, i.e. likes, followers, subscribers, etc. These three key acts of community formation reveal the ways imagined communities of practice are born online and can in turn lead to a sense of belonging by those within those communities[15].

[15] Similar acts of imagined community construction were outlined by Gruzd et al (2011) in exploring whether or not the social media site Twitter can be conceived of as an imagined community.

Figure 11: Nodes of Interaction

A: Anderson's "High Centers:" vertical communication between high centers to the masses, no participation between interlocutors.

B: The Moroccan Tag's *nodes of interaction*: video makers are positioned centrally because users cannot communicate laterally without first interacting vertically with a video maker in some form; after this, users may communicate laterally; nodes of interaction may interact with one another.

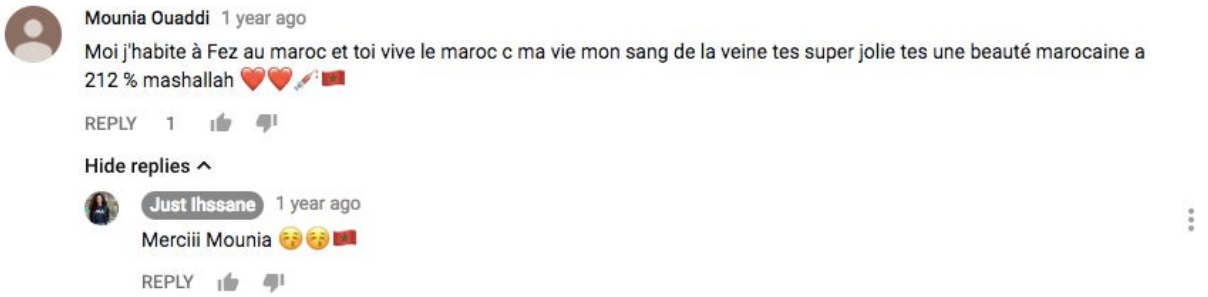


4.3.1 Collective Identity through Linguistic Practices

Online identities are constructed for the sake of self performance (see section 4.1) which extends to the assertion of shared experience. In my case studies, one way this act of collective identity formation manifests is through common linguistic and semiotic practices as well as shared sentiments in discourse or "public language" (Spitulnik 1996). These shared sentiments are formulaic, in that they contain much of the same semantic as well as formal content-- similar pieces of discourse can be seen as "chunks" of public language within the communicative norms of the Youtube space. In much the same way that an in-person community might have particular ways of talking or use specific slang words or phrases, Youtube, too, is a space where ways of speaking/typing become normalized. One such motif in the "Moroccan Tag" is that of *identity in the blood*. This sentiment is shared in the comments of multiple videos (see the Figures below) and may be because "blood" transcends geography, creating solidarity between global and local internet users on the basis of biological belonging. By asserting that identity is "in the blood," a disruption is made between physical place and community; one's "blood," i.e. embodied experience, is imagined to exist separately from where one resides. This we might call "long distance nationalism" a form of nationalism that "binds together migrants, their descendants, dispersed minority

populations and people who continue to live within the territory claimed as the homeland into a single transborder citizenry" (Schiller 2005: 290). Biological belonging is independent of the constraints of national boundaries; it is a transborder citizenry that homogenizes national identification. It is clear that biological belonging exists within the domain of imagination (of course one's blood is in the same location as their body, a region can only exist "in the blood" metaphorically!) but here, is certainly constructed through social engagement-- these users are interacting either with each other or with the posted Youtube video to engage in participatory sentiments of long distance nationalism. Below are examples of this "blood" metaphor, first in the comments of Just Ihsanne's video, then Hasna B's video. The last two comments were posted on the AD SISTERS and Just Ihssane's videos respectively, by the same user:

Example 1: Just Ihssane Comments: Blood metaphor



Translation: Mouina Ouaddi: *I live in Fez in Morocco and you long live Morocco it's my life my blood in my veins you are really pretty you are a beautiful Moroccan 212%* god has willed

Example 2, 3: Hasna B Comments: Blood metaphor

Translation: Mademoiselle 212: *Marocain in the vein* !!!!!!! MAMAMAMA
Smileyadina du24: *I'm from Rabat Morocco the blood*

Example 4: AD SISTERS Comments

Translation: *As soon as I heard the song I put a fist in the air !! I love the video !! Morocco is blood*

Example 4: Just Ihssane

Translation: *Morocco is blood !!! I also love Morocco !! I am a fan of you that's it I found my favorite youtuber !! Lol please follow my channel it would make me super happy !!!*

In all 5 comments the users utilize the metaphor of blood to claim national belonging. Additionally, three of the 5 comments include the "syringe" emoji, a pictorial reference to blood that further emphasises the claim that blood links to belonging. Because multiple users make use of this metaphor, it becomes a "chunk" of public language that marks this imagined community of practice. I have chosen to showcase two comments from the same user to show that, not only is this sentiment prevalent across videos, there is overlap in the users that interact with the Moroccan Tag videos. This is another example of the way imagined communities of practice are non-linear, and shows how community is formed between video makers and commenters as well as within them. The comment by Mouina Ouaddi includes a phrase in 3arabisi: "mashallah." Literally translated into "God has willed" Mouina Ouaddi places this phatic sentiment to the end of her sentence to note appreciation, joy or praise. I claim that phrases like "mashallah" are phatic because they are generally placed sentence finally as an ingroup marker, are not to be taken literally, and do not communicate deep content relevant to the rest of the sentence. Instead, the use of phatic chunks of 3arabisi are "traces of attention" that marks this group of Youtube users as an imagined community of practice. Bianchi (2013: 84) explains that "Arabic written in Latin script

represents a new linguistic code to be in contrast with Arabic written in Arabic script." Arabic has been scaled to work within the Youtube ecology, and 3arabisi is the resulting common linguistic and semiotic practice.[16]

Another common linguistic and semiotic practice within this particular imagined community of practice (as well as in other internet communities) is the hashtag (#), a user-created naming system. Initially, social media hashtags were intended to label and order related topics (Bollina & Rosa 2016) (for example, one might use "#corgis" to add their tweet/instagram photo to a corpus of tweets/photos related to the breed of dog "corgi"), however, on Youtube, the hashtag seems to serve a different purpose. While clicking on a hashtag will lead you to related videos, users seem not to be using this function, and instead use hashtags to connect comments and relate to each other. Here, the hashtag does not serve so much as a naming system, but instead has a metapragmatic function-- it is a way for users to bring attention to their language use as a marker of solidarity and connection. Bollina & Rosa (2016: 5) find that "hashtags [on twitter] thus operate in ways similar to library call numbers: they locate texts within a specific conversation, allowing for their quick retrieval, while also marking texts as being "about" a specific topic." Certain hashtags relate to other hashtags based on content, demarcating community. In this Youtube corpus, hashtags mark many of the comments between users; the Moroccan flag emoji is used much in the same way. For the sake of honing in on a more narrow collection of comments, below I have included examples of the way the hashtag "#MaghrebUnited is employed in Just Ihssane's video comments:

[16] For more examples, see section 4.1.2

Example 6, 7: Just Ihssane Comments, #MaghrebUnited

Translation: **Asunaa KaWaii:** DZDZDZDZDZ *I'm from Oran lol you are so pretty* god has willed.
Just Ihssane: *Thank you sweetie* #MaghrebUnited
Asunaa KaWaii: *Yes* #MaghrebUnited *continue like this you are so pretty I love you so much kisses*

Translation: **Tuni Sienne:** *I come from TUNESIAAAA*
Just Ihssane: hey!! #Maghrebunited :-)

The word Maghreb refers to the countries of North Africa, and so the hashtag #MaghrebUnited creates a link not only between Moroccans, but between North Africans in general. This shows how a imagined community of practice can be widened based on shared affinity to a particular region, constructed by those who consider themselves a part of it. In responding to her viewers with #Maghrebunitied, JustIhssane is strengthening the felt belonging a commenter may have when choosing to comment on a video, extending belonging even to those "from TUNESIAAAA" or "Oran," a city in

Algeria. These affinities can be narrowed as well, by referencing a particular city or ethnic group within the Maghreb, or within Morocco more specifically. This, we see in comments on Hasna B's videos, where the "#Tachelhite" hashtag is used to indicate belonging to a specific Moroccan ingroup, those who speak the Berber (Chleuh) language, Tachelhit:

Example 8, 9: Hasna B Comments: #Tachelhite

Translation: I liked your video a lot *you represent us* #Tachelhite

Translation: *The first chleuh Moroccan tag I love it so much you are adorable* #tchlihit

In these examples, users are employing the "#tachelhite" hashtag to narrow their imagined community of practice, creating a sense of belonging on the basis of a more specific ingroup marker. By stating "you represent us" user Zara Bouselmad is further driving home the sentiment that she feels connected to Hasna B, for representation is a large part of belonging (Orgad 2012). This is not to say that these users cannot relate to a wider imagined community of practice, such as the Maghrebi community formed in Just Ihssane's comments, but rather that multiple imagined communities of practice are possible within the "Moroccan Tag" and social media more broadly. Whether represented more broadly with #Maghreb or more narrowly with #Tachelhite, common linguistic and semiotic practices, as well as common sentiments represented as "chunks," allow Youtubers and their viewers to build collective identity that links deeply to a long distance nationalism. The employment of common linguistic practices then leads to the construction of imagined communities of practice.

4.3.2 "It's like I'm there, but I'm here"

In the previous section, I showed how shared sentiments expressed/enacted through linguistic "chunks" as a form of collective identity building lead to the formation of imagined communities of practice. In this section, I will show how chronotopic aspects of these shared sentiments do the same. I outline two such sentiments : first, discourses that constructs users as existing "here while there," second, "me too" discourses, in which users express possessing a same or similar experience of national identity. I call these scaler sentiments "chronotopic" because they allow users to have a shared history that transcends national citizenry as marked by borders.

In her video, Just Ihssane expresses that she feels more Moroccan than French because Morocco is "my country." She explains that throughout her childhood, she and her family have "lived in Morocco except we're in France.":

Example 1: Just Ihssane

Just Ihssane	*What does Morocco mean to you?* Morocco is my country. For example, when I'm at school, *at university,* people ask me if I feel more Moroccan or French, and I tell them I really feel more Moroccan. They ask me why, you grew up here, your family is here, you have *the culture* of France, why do you feel Moroccan? And I respond, very quickly, about why I feel Moroccan over French, because when I go to Morocco, it's like I am at home. Morocco is… bleughh.. *A country…* ugh, the phrase is on the tip of my tongue, it doesn't want to leave my head, I don't know why. ... In the house, we speak Arabic, since we were little learned Arabic, we learned about Islam, we learned everything, just like if we lived in Morocco except we're in France.

5:30; In response to : What does Morocco mean to you?

This sentiment derives from biological belonging in the sense that national borders do not define membership to a national group-- instead, it is the transposing of cultural motifs (language, religion, etc.) that mark Just Ihssane's ingroup membership. This is a salient example of long distance nationalism, as it literally places Just Ihssane in Morocco at the level of imagination. In Example 4 in section 4.2.2, we see this sentiment shared by a user in Just Ihssane's comments, who types: "same for me, that made me laugh

so much lolll no matter where we are we never lose our mint tea and our traditions lol." Community is not bound, and can emerge regardless of location on the basis of "mint tea and traditions," or metaphorical representations of cultural belonging. Still, the process of community building is facilitated on Youtube, because the internet is a site through which national identity can be asserted and reacted to. In this way, Youtube serves as a *permeable bounded location* for imagined communities of practice. For example, while the community of the "Moroccan Tag" may extend outside the internet in the form of a more vertically driven imagined community, the consistent social engagement between a less widespread pool of interlocutors likely remains within Youtube. I use the word *permeable* to express the fact community can extended past Youtube and that multiple imagined communities of practice may exist within a single community or overlap into other communities; however, Youtube is also a *bounded location* because the acts of engagement specific to the construction of community within the "Moroccan Tag" remain within Youtube between a fairly constrained group of people.

BEHIJAB reacts to the same question posed above in Just Ihssane's video in a slightly different way, delineating between her French and Moroccan identities, stating that she feels more "French because I was born here, I live here." BEHIJAB's utterance suggests that to her, national identity is in fact linked to geographic location. However, she does consider herself to have two cultures, to be "French-Moroccan," because she finds it allows her to have "greater understanding" than someone with a single culture.

Example 2 : BEHIJAB

BEHIJAB	Morocco, for me it's *my origins, its my roots* I am French, I feel French because I was born here, I live here, *I think like* I'm French, but Morocco, it's like a second home. It's my country. *I don't know if its the same for you,* but when I go to Morocco*, the odor,* the odor *the ambiance, it's different* its not the same. *It's a thing I love so much,* Morocco, *the countryside,* I like everything, *it's nothing like France. And I am proud to have two cultures, because to have two cultures, to be French-Moroccan, it allows me to have a richer understanding than someone who only has one culture.*

10:50; In response to: What does Morocco mean to you?

The dissonance between BEHIJAB's claim that identity links to geographic location and Just Ihssane's claim that she can exist in Morocco while in France is an example of how long distance nationalism may manifest in contrasting ways. There is not one proper way to assert national belonging, and although BEHIJAB's sentiment derives from that of Just Ihssane's, it is still within the same "ideoscape" (Appadurai 1996). The sharedness of community between the two, or between either Youtuber and their following, is not compromised by their difference of sentiment. In fact, being able to hold disparate opinions within an imagined community of practice and still make claim to that community makes the community more "real," for it adds levels and richness to belonging. If identity is a performance that is negotiated between interlocutors, it is reasonable that these negotiations would lead to some form of dissonance. Ideological disjuncture is commonplace in the lived realities of people, and "creates opportunities for reconfiguring the social world through a raised awareness of the current configuration" (Meek 2010: 52). It allows those within the same ingroup the chace to assert their identity in a way that makes sense to them, without compromising commonality even at moments of dissonance. This in turn allows those who draw conclusions from these acts of identification (here, video viewers) the ability to reframe the way they conceive of their community. Regardless of the different modes by which these two Youtubers claim long distance nationalism, these sentiments evoke a shared experience of space and personhood (being Moroccan in France) and are thus chronotopically situated.

A similar statement is expressed by user "Melissa 212" in response to the AD SISTER's video, when she writes that their video makes her feel at home. She states:

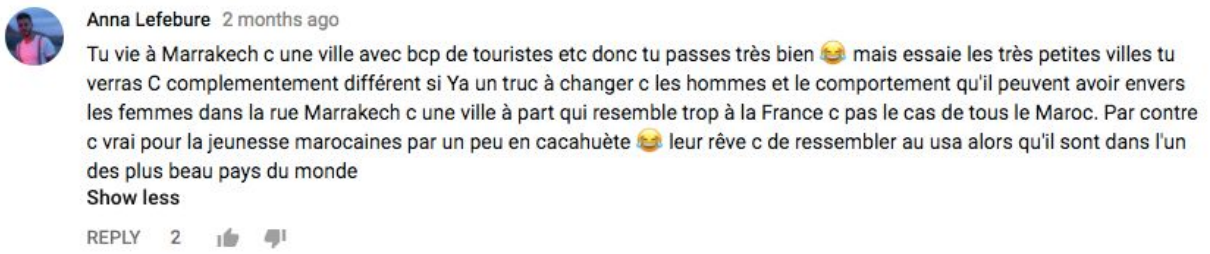
Example 3: AD SISTERS Comments: I feel like I'm home

Translation: *If I close my eyes, I feel like I'm home lol*

Melissa 212's comment suggests that she is currently not situated in Morocco, for two reasons: 1) the expression of "closing her eyes" suggests that she cannot see Morocco with her eyes open, and 2) the use of the word *bled* indexes that she is away from her homeland. By stating that the AD SISTERS make her feel as though she is "at home," Melissa 212 is creating a semiotic link between the Youtubers and herself, adding a nostalgic level to long distance nationalism. Because Melissa 212 knows about Morocco, she is able to envision her country ("bled") while away from it, enacting a fractally recursive mapping of Morocco in her mind. This is reminiscent of Dick and Arnold (2017), who outline the way migrants to North America from Mexico and El Salvador are able to imagine their home countries in their mind's eye, while those who do not migrate are unable to create the same mapping of North America, a country they are not familiar with. Belonging is constructed one-directionally, for those who are able to envision their home country in their mind's eye do not feel the same "us" and "them" separation that those who remained do-- Melissa 212's statement is contingent on the fact that she has migrated away from her homeland, and thus her sense of belonging is resonant to Moroccan migrants, rather than all Moroccans. This is an act of territorialization, which brings Melissa 212 closer to Morocco by closing her eyes, yet may in fact deterritorialize her in the minds of non-migrants, who cannot create the same mapping.

Lou Derq does not explicitly address territorialization in respect to the way she conceptualizes of her identity, however, one of her viewers does. User "Anna Lefebure" finds that Lou Derq doesn't actually understand Morocco, because she is from a bigger city that is full of tourists. She asserts that if Lou Derq were to try living in a smaller town, she would see that "it is completely different." She writes:

Example 4: Lou Derq Comments: The little towns are different



Translation: *You live in Marrakech a town with a lot of tourists and so you live very well but try the very little towns you will see its completely different if there is something to change its the men and the ways that they conduct themselves around women on the roads Marrakech is too similar to France which is not the case for all of Morocco. But it is true that the young Moroccans can be a little nuts their dream is to be like the us even though they are living in one of the most beautiful countries in the world*

This comment by "Anna Lefebure" is likely in response to Lou Derq's assertion in her video that she would "change nothing about Morocco," but that the youth in Morocco act as though they "would like to live in the USA" (see section 4.2.1 Example 2). In this case, Anna Lefebure is stating that because Lou Derq has not lived in the small towns of Morocco, she does not know what she would want to change about Morocco. Because Lou Derq only knows of Marrakech, a large city, Anna Lefebure suggests that Lou Derq cannot envision an accurate picture of Morocco in her mind's eye; she suggests that this could be remedied by visiting the "very little towns." Lou Derq's perception of Morocco is also likely influenced by her position as a Moroccan in France-- perceptions of the homeland in the collective memory of those in diaspora are influenced by the context of their receiving country (Abdelhady 2007). This ideological disjuncture (Meek 2010) could push Lou Derq out of Anna Lefebure's imagined community of practice, because they have different experiences and perspectives regarding what they would change about Morocco. However, the second portion of Anna Lefebure's comment ("But it is true that…") aligns with Lou Derq's stance, which may conversely create a sense of solidarity between the two.

The above comment is an example of the ways viewers may contest an experience of a Youtuber, creating a distance between the viewer and Youtuber at the level of social engagement. However, a wide number of viewer comments align with the experiences of the Youtubers, expressing a chronotopic "me too" sentiment that situates viewers and Youtubers within the same history. These "me too" comments either align a viewer with a Youtuber's opinion, or assert a shared experience of having Moroccan origins; they are acts of social engagement that may increase feelings of belonging and build imagined

communities of practice. Below, I have included a few examples to illustrate the ways this sentiment manifests. The first comment is in response to Lou Derq, the second to Just Ihssane, and the third to Hasna B:

Example 5: Lou Derq Comments: I agree with you

Translation: *Wow I agree with you 100%, most of all when you talked about culture being lost as a result of the new generation who thinks they are in the United States its almost like it was me who was saying it!* #MoroocoBled

Example 6: Just Ihssane Comments: Same!

Translation: **lyna anan:** *me too it's the same my parents are moroccan and I am french*
Just Ihssane: *same as you!*

Example 7: Hasna B Comments: Me too!

Translation: Hello *you are really Chelha me too I am from ourzazate and live in the "pas de calais" me too I also love berber folklore*

These sentiments of sharedness, along with sentiments that situate Youtubers "here while there" construct links between Youtubers and their viewers, building community between the two parts at the level of

imagination but also at the level of social engagement. This is a mode of "doing being," reiterating that much of identity is engagement and collaboration. "Doing being" is the act of using talk to reflect a speaker's inner beliefs, especially relative to identity (Koven 2013: 556), and can manifest through chronotopes of sharedness that allow displaced users to find common ground and build community.

4.3.3 Nodes of Interaction

"The Moroccan Tag" works as a video genre because it is (re)duplicated by a number of Youtubers. For each "Moroccan Tag" video that is created, a number of similar videos already exist. This tag is a derivative of a separate Youtube tag, the "Ethnicity Tag," which is less specific in its categorization; an "Ethnicity Tag" video can be a "Moroccan Tag" video, but a "Moroccan Tag" video is not necessarily an "Ethnicity Tag" video. This is because the "Ethnicity Tag" video genre covers a wide variety of Youtube videos by Youtubers of a variety of backgrounds, but the "Moroccan Tag" videos are specifically for those who identify as "Moroccan." Within this tag video exits another sub-genre, those Youtubers who create "Moroccan Tag" videos and are second generation Moroccan immigrants in France. The second generation immigrants are a minority in France, and, as I have argued, the "Moroccan Tag" vidoes become a way for them to assert transborder citizenry and belonging (Schiller 2005). Joseph (2004), in reference to Silverstein (2003) and Bloommart (2007), states that "it is for those at the margins that identities matter most" (17). Second-generation migrants lie on the margins of both their global and local communities. They are often "othered" at the level of national identity whether in their country of origin or in their receiving country; it is for this reason the assertion of identity by these migrants is an important act. On Youtube, acts of assertion are heavily influenced by outside factors-- the "Moroccan Tag" videos were only created because other "Moroccan Tag" videos exist. Recreation of videos may be a way for participants to refer to each other across and between videos, strengthening their imagined communities of practice and thus may bolster their own conceptions of identity.

Three Youtubers in particular, Just Ihssane, BEHIJAB, and AD SISTERS, interact within the comments of each other's videos regarding the creation of their own Moroccan Tag videos. A fourth Youtuber, DOUNIA LEILA, another second generation French-Moroccan whose video I have not analyzed, also interacts with the AD SISTERS and Just Ihssane referencing her own "Moroccan Tag" video. Anderson (1991) suggests that imagined communities form when members of the community do not imagine it to be situated around "high centers." He refers specifically to "high centered monarchs who… ruled under some form of cosmological (divine) dispensation" (36). In this study, I modify the concept of "high centers" and refer to actors that are in charge of or play a higher role within the online community as *nodes of interactions*. As stated previously, *nodes of interaction* and "high centers" differ on the basis of lateral participation, as outlined in Figure 11. The *nodes of interaction,* do however, exist centrally within the "Moroccan Tag" community, because users must first interact with videos or video makers before video makers interact with them-- Youtube videos and video makers are the junction point for participation. Based on online "clout," i.e. number of likes, subscribers, comments, etc., certain *nodes of interaction* may be more centrally situated than others; for example, those *nodes* with more online clout are higher traffic sites for interaction, and thus are positioned more centrally within the social sphere. *Nodes of interaction* further differ from "high centers," because *nodes* may also interact with one another, which in turn increasingly complicates the organization of imagined communities of practice, enacting a sort of cross-play (Goffman 1981). Below is a screencap of Just Ihssane's comment on the AD SISTERS video, BEHIJAB's comment on Just Ihssane's video, and DOUNIA LEILA's comment on the AD SISTERS' video. To note, Just Ihssane has more subscribers than the other three Youtubers (41K followers), but the AD SISTERS have the most views on their video (36,585 views). Therefore, we might say that these Youtubers (nodes) are the more centrally positioned than the others :

Example 1: Just Ihssane and AD SISTERS

Translation: **Just Ihssane:** looool!!! *I already saw this! But I didn't comment !! awesome!*
AD SISTERS: hahahaha *lolll thank youuu beautiful* have a nice day

Example 2: BEHIJAB and Just Ihssane

Translation: **BEHIJAB:** *I have to do this too, with my terrible* crooked *arabic!*
Just Ihssane: *Lol !! Ahahaha Yes you should do it! Not easy but very funny !! Big kisses*
BEHIJAB: *I filmed it I will post it soon*
Just Ihssane: *ahh cool! I will go watch it then!!!* :-)

Example 3: DOUNIA LELIA and AD SISTERS

Translation: **DOUNIA LEILA:** *Its cutttttee !! Go on my channel I also did a moroccan tag*
AD SISTERS: *Thank you, we will go watch it ! <3*

Participation between *nodes of interaction* is an equalizer that allows Youtubers to imagine themselves existing on the same plane of interaction as each other, regardless of online clout. This is in part because Youtubers that are the most centrally located *nodes of interaction* do not control the Youtube space. While certain Youtubers may influence the content production of other Youtubers, they do not moderate video or comment posting, and any user is able to interact with any other user. Youtubers state that they will watch each other's videos (AD SISTERS: "Thank you, we will go watch it!; Just Ihsanne: "I'll go watch it, then!) and use smiley faces that may indicate comradery. This is a means of refuting their centeral status, and is a part of *performing non-performance* (see section 4.2.3). Because these Youtubers may want to be seen as authentic and real, they also may want to be seen as approachable and relatable. It is the potential for interaction between interlocutors that sets apart an imagined community of practice from an imagined community, and so I argue that these French-Moroccan "Moroccan Tag" Youtubers do create community between one another, aided by the participatory nature of the Youtube space as well as shared experience (for example, shared "broken" use of Darija in section 4.1.1), despite disparate

numbers of views, likes, or subscribers. Additionally, the shared format and reproduction of the "Moroccan Tag" video creates yet another plane of similarity.

Between Youtube video makers and their following, a more prominent difference in centrallity may be apparent. Many of the users who comment on Youtube videos do not create videos themselves, and so have very limited subscribers, if any. As a result, the Youtube space is very centered around *nodes of interaction* while the commenters may be seen as meer surrounding actors. However, acts of "breaking the fourth wall" may decentralize *nodes of interaction*, placing interlocutors on more equal ground on the basis of vertical interaction. "Breaking the fourth wall" is an idiomatic expression used in theater to delineate a moment when the performer interacts with the audience, i.e. "breaks the wall" between the world of the performance and the outside world. When a Youtuber explicitly addresses their audience as if they can see the world behind their camera, they are breaking the fourth wall, entering their audience's world and allowing the audience to enter theirs. This situates interlocutors chronotopically, and also destabilizes *nodes of interaction* as vertical depositors of media. When Youtubers ask their audience members rhetorical questions, such as "have you seen my latest hair color on Snapchat?" (a question posed by Lou Derq) or crowdsourcing questions "Which food do you prefer? Tell me in the comments!" (a question posed by BEHIJAB) they invite the audience into lateral interaction with them, either through an outside social media, such as Snapchat, or through the comment section, which in turn positions Youtubers as more natural and "off-the-cuff." Just Ihssane poses a question that elicits a number of responses from viewers when she asks how to say the Arabic (Darija) word for almonds, and asks her viewers to let her know the answer in the comments section of her video. Of the 434 comments posted on Just Ihssane's video (not including response comments, directly nested under primary comments), 24 directly addressed this question. Below, I have included three examples to illustrate:

Example 4,5,6: Just Ihssane Comments: Almonds

Translation: *Yes, you are right we say* louse"*for almonds*

Translation: *Morocco my country! I come from THE CAPITAL RABAT YES ALMONDS ARE* "LOUSZES" *MY SISTER*

Translation: *Yes almonds are* louze

I have included comments that were posted 1 year ago, 8 months ago and 3 months ago respectively to showcase that Just Ihssane's video is continually being responded to and interacted with. Many of the users (such as "kikou maghina" and "les 100 noms d allah") only comment to respond to Just Ihssane's question-- this explicitly shows how Just Ihssane's question invites users to interact with her video. Had she not posed this question, it is possible that these viewers would not have commented on her video. It is important to note, however, that not all viewers comment on videos; in fact, it is likely that many do not. For these viewers, then, it is less likely that the Youtube space of the "Moroccan Tag" is an imagined community of practice, because there is no lateral social engagement; by not participating with the Youtubers or commenters, these users are not able to level the playing field between themselves and the Youtubers.

4.3.4 Summary

Youtubers and their viewers build imagined communities of practice as a result of participation within the Youtube space. Building off of Anderson's (1991) foundational work, I have found the "Moroccan Tag"

users to build community through common linguistic and semiotic practices, chronotopic engagement, and acts of equalizing by and between nodes of interaction. Common linguistic and semiotic practices span from Youtuber's use of Darija and French, the primary languages of the "Moroccan Tag," to the ways chunks of public language (such as hashtags) are used within the video comments. These practices index a long distance nationalism (Schiller 2005), that is, a nationalism that extends beyond geographic location and links those in diaspora to those within national borders. Chronotopic engagement manifests through expressed commonality: shared acts of identification, as well as shared localization (i.e. a feeling of "there while here"). Acts of shared identification can often be found in the comment section of the videos, where users post comments aligning with the stance of the Youtubers they watch, or assert that they, too, are French-Moroccan. Youtuber's opinions on the effect deterritorialization has on their personal identity also places them within a similar history. Lastly, *nodes of interaction* and the multi-way communication between users and video makers complicates the organization of imagined communities of practice, but ultimately aides in their construction-- *nodes of interaction* are able to use participation as an equalizer between themselves and their following. As a whole, the "Moroccan Tag" Youtubers, as well as their viewers, are able to build imagined communities of practice through acts of social engagement that complicate Anderson's (1991) conception of imagined community.

5. Conclusion

When Youtube first launched in 2005, it was the first social media solely dedicated to the posting and sharing of video content. Within months, tens of millions of users began to interact with the site, and at long last, Internet video distribution became viable on a massive scale (Hilderbrand 2007). This necessarily restructured the way social media users conceived of participative media consumption, for it allowed anyone with the capacity to film a video the ability to post their video and have it interacted with in a way unlike any other website. In 2010, new ads were introduced to Youtube, allowing Youtubers the opportunity to gain revenue through their postings, and a slew of vloggers (video bloggers) began to post

videos about their lives, changing the ecology of Youtube from primarily home videos, music remixes and highlights of television to include videos about user's lived experiences. Youtube is a site for participatory culture because it encourages users to share their personal lives through video posting, and have those postings interacted with through comments, video responses and derivative social medias, such as Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat and Instagram. It is important because it serves the particular interests of its users, and while there is certainly an unevenness of participation (as discussed regarding "nodes of interaction"), everyone has the *option* to participate, and to create niche communities specific to what matters to them. Studying Youtube begs the questions: can interaction on user-created, participatory media broaden its scale to inform wider social interaction and participation? What can Youtube tell us as scholars about the way social patterns are imagined, contested, and (re)produced?

In this thesis, I have focused specifically on Youtube as a site of *transnational* participatory media, honing in on its ability to bridge the gap between users in desperate locations, but also of similar experience. I have shown that Youtube is in fact a site for the (re)production of social patterns, and is useful in studying the ways people make claim to their personal identities, particularly as transnational actors. The children of Moroccan migrants in France have an interesting, shared history-- they are at once deterritorialized in the country of their previous colonizer, but also enact practices of territorialization that allow them to impart on social repatriation to their country of origin. On Youtube, these acts of territorialization manifest through linguistic and semiotic practices that allow Youtubers to exist "there while here" which may in turn ground their sense of belonging to their home land and their sense of solidarity towards each other. I have outlined three primary, interrelated ways second-generation French-Moroccan migrants have scaled their acts of (re)/(de)terrirorialization to work within the social web of Youtube, in a particular sub-genre of videos entitled the "Moroccan Tag" -- through semiotic and linguistic ideologies about "appropriate" language, "authenticity," and "imagined communities of practice."

The question of "appropriate" language is one that permeates through nearly all communities, but especially in the case of heritage speakers, what linguistic practices are perceived "appropriate" or not has to do not only with stigmatization regarding the language form itself, but also the way heritage speakers employ their heritage language. Although these speakers may perceive certain aspects of their language as "broken," their overall knowledge of cultural practices and material goods that index their country of origin helps heritage speakers to authenticate themselves as members of a national ingroup. This membership is enacted on the basis of social engagement, which in turn creates community at various social scales, depending on the mode or type of social engagement. In studying the "Moroccan Tag," I have seen how social engagement can create fronts of similarity even at moments of ideological disjuncture, and in fact, have seen how, at moments of contestation, assertion of identity becomes all the more important.

While the conclusions I have drawn in analyzing the discourse and subsequent social engagement of the "Moroccan Tag", should not be sweepingly generalized to all second-generation immigrant communities, they can reveal themes at the level of language, identity and belonging. The five Youtubers I have studied are, like all humans, complex and multiplicitous in their identities-- I have only explored one aspect of the many ways their identities may manifest. However, extending conversations in digital discourse, translanguage and the resulting effect on identity formation and performance ultimately helps situate these transnational actors in a web of internet users, each equally as complex as the next. In a globalizing world, where technologies that compress time and space are becoming all the more accessible, it is important to consider the role of transnational actors on the internet, for their engagement speaks to the ways societies change and meld with outside influence. There is no such thing as "untouched" culture, language is not homogenous and linear, and people engage in more than one community at once-- participatory media helps unpack and falsify myths to the contrary. As a transnational social media user myself, I hope my work helps other second-generation immigrants unpack the ambivalences within their

own conceptions of self, and helps inform people more generally of how transborder citizenry and long distance nationalism affects the lives and minds of every-day people.

6. Transcription/Translation Conventions

Italics: French
Underlined: Arabic (Darija)
Underlined Italics: French loan words borrowed into Darija
Nothing: English
[word]: non-linguistic actions, ie.laughter, gesture.
No emojis were noted in the translations because they are visible in the screencaps included.

7. Appendix: Figures and Examples

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